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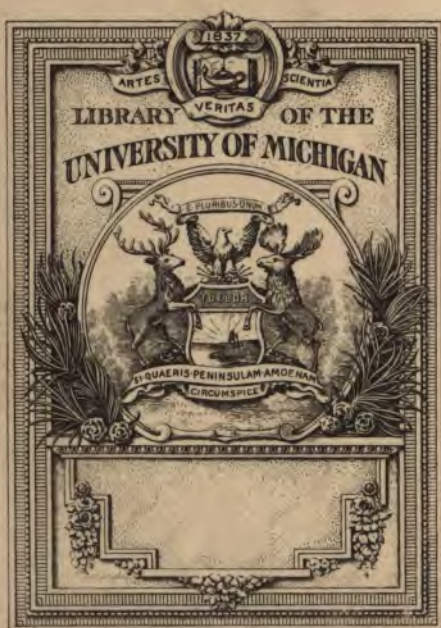
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PAPIAS
AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

EDWARD H. HALL



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PAPIAS AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

A STUDY OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT
IN THE SECOND
CENTURY

BY
EDWARD H. ^{entry}HALL



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PAPIAS

CHAPTER I

AN EARLY INVESTIGATOR

THE reader of the Christian Scriptures finds many unsolved problems still remaining to perplex him. Even the unpracticed eye detects in them tokens of varied sources and successive stages of growth. Not only are they confessedly by different authors and written at different periods, but each book by itself often shows signs of a composite character. Whence came these several layers ; when and how ?

The easiest questions to ask are sometimes the hardest to answer, especially where religions are concerned, whose infancy is so sure to be obscure and unrecorded, and which conceal so carefully the secrets of their early growth, — not intentionally, of course, but of necessity. Before the world has awoke to their significance, or the actors themselves become aware of the rôle they are filling, the incidents that attended their birth have already been lost, and

it is impossible to recover them. In the case of Christianity, more than a century passed before it gained that consciousness of itself or sense of individuality which made its early hours sacred to its thought, or bade it treasure its primitive records, or even the story of its founders. Then it was too late; too late, that is, to recall with any vividness such far-away occurrences, or the personalities engaged in them. Even the twelve Apostles, with two or three exceptions, are mere names to us; still more the obscure chroniclers who so laboriously gathered for us, here and there, whatever had survived from distant and half-forgotten times.

To trace these several compilations back, one by one, to their original sources is an endless and dispiriting task, as the mass of scholarly commentaries, with their conflicting hypotheses, abundantly show. But suppose we try a more modest experiment: place ourselves midway in the process, and see what story that single moment tells. Let us take the first writer of distinction after the apostolic times, and learn from him what we can of the state of the Christian Scriptures, and the attitude of Christian thought, with which he and his contemporaries were familiar. There are so few

living personalities emerging from those eventful hours that we are in duty bound to make the most of any who can be found.

Such a character was Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia; not indeed the very first of whom we hear, but the first after the death of the Apostle Paul to present any marked individuality. With our modern associations, we might not look for such a personage in Phrygia. Christianity has so entirely lost its hold upon Asia Minor that it requires some mental effort to remember that it was in that direction that Paul first turned as the best field for his missionary effort; or that before the end of the first century a more numerous circle of Christian churches had appeared in the western section of Asia Minor than in any other region of equal size.¹ In point of fact, for two centuries at least Ephesus, with its neighboring communities, held its own with Jerusalem, Rome, and Alexandria, as an important Christian centre, with more individuality of its own than either.

¹ Rev. i. 11; ii.; iii. Hierapolis does not appear among the "seven churches," but it lay within a few miles of Colosse and Laodicea, and evidently stood in some personal relations with the Apostle Paul. (Col. iv. 13.) For full accounts of this interesting region, see Lightfoot's *Introduc. to St. Paul's Epis. to Col. and Philem.*, pp. 1-72; Renan's *Hist. des Origines*, iii. 126-130, 351-360; Ramsay's *Cities of Phrygia*, i. ch. iii., xii.

Hardly one of the great movements which agitated the life and thought of Christendom during that period had not intimate relations with Asia Minor, even if it did not find its birth there.¹ To study the life of a Phrygian bishop of the second century, therefore, is to get an inner view, in so far as the annals of the time can be recovered at all, of whatever was most important or serious in the early growth of our faith.

Papias was born probably towards the end of the first century of our era, and lived far into the second. If we think of him as in advancing years but full activity about the middle of the century, we shall come as near to chronological accuracy as the misty data of that epoch allow.² We must not attempt to extort from the meagre records at our disposal too realistic details of the life of a bishop at a time when that title had assumed so little of its later dignity, but the few facts that are given have a peculiar interest for us. He was almost the first church official, apparently, to occupy himself in studying or collecting the records of the

¹ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 11, 2; iv. 14, 3; iv. 26, 1; v. 3, 4; v. 14; v. 16; v. 18. Comp. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age of Chris. Church*, ii. 169.

² Appendix, Note A.

past. He shows himself an indefatigable investigator, letting no chance go by which would acquaint him with the sacred hours when Jesus himself was still walking with his disciples, or the hours only less sacred when those disciples were yet living to repeat the sayings of the Master. The result of these inquiries seems to have been a work in five volumes, entitled "Interpretations of the Lord's Sayings."¹ It is difficult to estimate the help we should have towards an understanding of our Gospels and the conditions of their composition, if this treatise still survived. Unfortunately, it has been lost, but the few extracts from it which later writers and historians have preserved are of quite incomparable interest. In his search for materials Papias seems to have found no written documents which covered the ground, or none at least that carried official weight; and he turns accordingly to such living men as could still recall, even at second hand, any reminiscences of the Lord or his disciples. How he went to work for this purpose he tells us with delightful simplicity.

He addresses his work to some unknown friend, and in his Preface, apparently after some account of the sources from which he has gath-

¹ Note B.

ered his information, he adds: "Nor shall I hesitate to relate to you, in addition to my expositions, whatever I have at any time learned from the Presbyters, having intrusted it carefully to my memory, and vouching for its truth. For I did not care, as many do, for those who have much to say, but rather for such as have actual facts to give us; nor yet for the retailers of strange doctrines, but for those precepts only which the Lord has committed to believers, and which emanate therefore from the truth itself. So whenever any follower of the Presbyters came along, I got from him the very words of the Presbyters; what Andrew or Peter said, what Philip or Thomas said, or James or John or Matthew, or any other disciple of the Lord; or what Aristion and John the Presbyter, disciples of the Lord, have to say. For I never felt that I got so much from the written page as from the living and unforgotten voice." ¹

Now could there be a healthier breeze over the dry wastes of church history than reaches us through these old-time sentences? They breathe of fresh woods and pastures, where the garnering has till now been slight, and the laborers are still but few. We are in the

¹ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 39, 3, 4. See Note C.

creative epoch, it seems, within the echo of living voices ; standing at the beginning of things, when the Christian Scriptures are not made but making. The first generations have gone, it is true, but their followers are still lingering on the stage, and have many things to tell which no written document has yet reported. Here is one reverent inquirer at least who knows their worth, and is determined that these precious memories shall not be lost. He did not succeed as he would have wished. The church in later times showed slight appreciation of his work, or at least took little pains to preserve it. All the more gratitude is due, then, for these scanty fragments which have defied neglect and found their way into our hands. They give a vivid idea of the perils through which all the memorials and records of those unlettered days must have passed.¹

¹ This naïve delight in the spoken as distinct from the written word is an attractive characteristic of a primitive epoch. Even to-day, no doubt, could we hear from some wide-awake narrator of good memory tales of the French Revolution or the Napoleonic wars told him by his grandfather, we should listen more eagerly than to our Carlyles or our Taines ; but Papias had smaller choice, and so was the more keen for oral reminiscences. This reliance upon verbal tradition lasted long after Papias. At the end of the century Clement of Alexandria gives us "memoranda of brilliant and vivid discourses which he had been privileged

It is not to be understood, of course, that Papias found no Christian literature of importance at his disposal. A full century had passed since the death of Jesus ; a very marked century in Roman annals, which must certainly have left some trace in Christian annals as well.¹ Indeed, a familiar passage, written perhaps about this time, assures us that "Many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses, and ministers of the word."² As it to hear," from men who "had handed down the genuine tradition of the blessed doctrine straight from Peter and James, John and Paul, the son receiving it from the father." (*Strom.*, i. 1, 11.) He declares that Paul wrote his Epistle to the Hebrews in Hebrew, and states the order of the four Gospels, wholly on the authority of "the ancient Presbyters." (Euseb. vi. 14, 2, 5.) In an extraordinary passage from Irenæus we find that eminent church Father, who wrote about A. D. 180, with all the four Gospels before him, insisting that Jesus lived into old age, because certain elders who had known the Apostle John in Asia Minor had so assured him. (*Her.*, ii. 22, 5.)

An interesting parallel to the Papias passage is found in Arrian's Dedication of the *Discourses of Epictetus*, who was also a native of Hierapolis not far from this time. (Higginson's *Works of Epictetus*, p. 1.)

¹ Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, and Suetonius were all writing during this period.

² Luke i. 1, 2.

happens, we have two or three faint but suggestive clues to the materials which Papias had at his command. "Papias," so Eusebius tells us, "introduced evidence from the First Epistle of John, as well as from that of Peter. He also relates a story found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews of a woman accused before the Lord of many sins."¹ Here is a Gospel, then, and two Epistles. Apparently he made use also of our Revelation or Apocalypse, borrowing from it its predictions of the coming kingdom of Christ.² Here also is an instance of the personal traditions which he gathered from apostolic circles, showing that in those uncritical hours credible reports and incredible passed

¹ *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 39, 17. This story of the woman, which is probably the same which has come down to us as part of the Fourth Gospel (John viii. 3-11), Eusebius seems to have known as part of the ancient Gospel of the Hebrews. In those days quotations were made with such singular looseness that it is impossible to say in this case whether Papias himself quotes from the Gospel of Hebrews or Eusebius simply infers that he does; or whether in the case of 1 John and 1 Peter it is Papias or only Eusebius who mentions those Epistles by name. Eusebius, like many a more modern commentator, may have accepted the vaguest resemblance in an ancient writing to a New Testament passage as proof positive that the writer had the New Testament in full before him.

For *Gospel according to Hebrews*, see Note D.

² See Note E.

current together. Our chronicler would have been inconceivably in advance of his age had he turned a deaf ear to the supernatural. In those times, it seems, the Apostle Philip, or his surviving daughters, lived in Hierapolis, and Papias got from them many extraordinary tales of that Apostle's experiences. Eusebius records one or two of them. "Papias tells us how, in Philip's time (evidently by Philip's miraculous power), a man was raised from the dead. And another marvelous thing, too, that happened to Justus surnamed Barsabas : how, having drunk a poisonous drug, he experienced no harm from it, through the grace of the Lord."¹

The Gospel according to the Hebrews, familiar as it seems to have been to both Papias and Eusebius, has long ago disappeared ; but two other early Gospels mentioned by Papias have fortunately survived, and any descriptions of them at this formative period are of the highest value. No more instructive passage has come down to us than that in which Papias gives us his impressions of Mark and Matthew. He

¹ *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 39, 9. The inference of course is that these miracles were performed by the Apostle Philip, though this is not directly asserted. A preceding chapter shows that there was some confusion at this time between the Apostle and the Evangelist Philip. (Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 31, 2, 5.) Comp. Renan, *Hist.*, ii. 151 n.

speaks first of Mark, repeating what had been told him on this subject by the Presbyter John. "This, too," writes Papias, "the Presbyter said: Mark, acting as interpreter of Peter, wrote down carefully whatever he remembered of the sayings or doings of Christ, yet not with any system.¹ For he had never heard the Lord himself, nor was he even his follower, but became later, as I have said, a follower of Peter; and as Peter was in the habit of discoursing as occasion arose with no view to orderly arrangement² of the Lord's words, Mark cannot well be blamed for simply recording what things he remembered, however few. For his one care was, not to omit anything he had heard, and to falsify nothing."³

Once more we seem to stand on the very

¹ οὐ τὰξιν

² σύνταξιν

³ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 39, 15. We have here the source of the popular notion that Mark, in writing his Gospel, acted as Peter's "amanuensis." Papias is the first to give the tradition, but it is repeated by various early writers, with many modifications. According to one account Mark wrote during Peter's lifetime and at his dictation; according to another after Peter's death; according to one Peter was wholly indifferent in the matter; according to another he learned through supernatural means what Mark had done, and was well pleased, and gave the work his official sanction. (Irenæus, iii. 1, 1; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iv. 5; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, ii. 15; vi. 14, 6, 7; vi. 25, 5.)

threshold of Christian literature, watching its earliest stages of growth. Papias is evidently defending Mark against certain charges.¹ The critics of the day find his narrative ill arranged and fragmentary. But why should Mark be blamed for this? asks Papias; Peter followed no methodical plan, why then should Mark, who was simply reporting from memory the occasional discourses of the Apostle? Mark was careful and honest; what more could be asked?

But what is it that Papias is describing? we cannot help asking ourselves. The Gospel of Mark, as we have it to-day, certainly does not read like a collection of discourses by Peter; nor is it noticeably lacking in "orderly arrangement." On the contrary, it gives all the method or system that we have in these early records, and, though shorter than the other narratives, is no less chronological or consecutive than they. Indeed, it has become the fashion among the latest biblical critics to regard Mark as affording on the whole, in its very simplicity and clearness, the most intelligible account of the Lord's ministry that has come down to us. No doubt if we were bound to prove, or chose to assume beforehand, that Papias had Mark's

¹ It is not quite clear whether Papias is speaking for himself here, or quoting his Presbyter.

Gospel in its present form before him, it would be possible, by a little straining of language, to make this appear. As we feel no such necessity, however, but are only trying to put ourselves in our author's place, let us pause and look a little farther into the matter. Can it be that the document of which Papias speaks, though already bearing the name of Mark, is simply the first rude collection out of which in due time the completed Gospel is to grow? Nothing is said of a Gospel, it must be noticed. It is not even an arrangement. It is a memoriter report of fragmentary conversations or addresses of the Apostle Peter. As an account of such a primitive document Papias's description would be perfect, and we should then have the supreme satisfaction of catching a furtive glimpse of the hidden processes of Scripture composition. This would be one of the layers for which we are searching.¹ It is not worth

¹ Compare Schleiermacher's *Werke*, ii. 361-393. An early work called the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, or *Preaching of Peter*, is quoted by second century writers as of equal authority with the canonical Scriptures, and is held by some critics to have been in Papias's hands. (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, i. 29; vi. 5, 6, 15.) Eusebius, in the fourth century, finds it still in use, but ranks it with the Second Epistle of Peter as of doubtful genuineness. (*Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 3, 2.) See Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeit.*, i. 54, 459; ii. 30; Weiffenbach, *Die Papias-Fragmente*, 46, 107.

our while to pass any hasty judgment on this point; for the extract which Eusebius gives is short and enigmatic at best, and it is important for us to lose no early confirmation of our New Testament Scriptures. At the same time, it is more important still for us to get at the true spirit of these creative hours, and see things as they really were. In any other case, where an ordinary historic question was at issue, we should certainly suspend our judgment on such evidence till further testimony was found. Let us do so now.

As it happens, the testimony accumulates at once. Papias, as I have said, has information to give also regarding the Gospel of Matthew, which, though much less detailed than his account of Mark, is none the less interesting. We must remember that these are the earliest traditions known to history concerning the origin of our Gospels, and the first allusions to either Matthew or Mark as a Gospel writer; they are therefore of importance far beyond their actual length. "Matthew," says Papias, "transcribed the Sayings¹ in the Hebrew dialect, and each one interpreted² them as best he could."

This is all; but how curious a situation this brief passage suggests. Again Papias says no-

¹ See Note B.

² Or perhaps "translated."

thing of a Gospel. The Gospel of Matthew, as we know it, is by no means a mere collection of the Lord's Sayings, although possibly based on such collections;¹ but is a methodical composition, fashioned on a more artistic scheme than either Mark or Luke. It is not written in Hebrew; it is written in Greek. It cannot even be considered a translation from a Hebrew original, as it shows none of the usual characteristics of a translation, and makes its Old Testament citations as a rule from the Greek rather than the Hebrew versions.² In a word, the description before us bears even less resemblance to our Matthew than the previous description to our Mark. No doubt if we were obliged to assume that the Gospel of Matthew existed in its present form in the time of Papias, we might explain his silence by saying that he did not think it worth while to mention a fact so familiar. As we are under no such obligation, however, it is far more to the purpose to take the words in their obvious meaning and let them tell their own story.

¹ Matt. v. 1-vii. 29; xiii. 1-53; xviii. 1-xix. 2; xxiv.; xxv.

² This is a nice point to decide, and one on which the verdict of trained philologists is alone of value; but critics of all the schools seem to be singularly in accord in pronouncing our Greek Matthew, whenever written, an original work rather than a translation. For the authorities on this point, see Holtzmann, *Einleit. in das N. Test.*, 376-378.

We seem to be standing midway between a primitive collection of the Lord's Sayings, in their original tongue, for use in Hebrew churches, and the Greek Gospel of Matthew composed for Greek-speaking communities. Whether Papias¹ had ever seen the Hebrew document of which he speaks does not appear. Possibly he knew of it only by hearsay, or at best only in the form of various independent translations, such as he here seems to speak of, for the service of non-Jewish congregations. Had there been an authorized translation, such varieties would certainly not have been in vogue; but our author's expression, "each one interpreted as best he could," puts the primitive condition of things very naturally before us. It opens the way for countless surmises. Were there, then, a Hebrew and a Greek Matthew in use at the same time in different Christian churches, quite independent of each other, and both original documents? And if so, what became of the Hebrew Gospel? Or was the primitive Hebrew primer to be absorbed finally into an elaborated Gospel, losing its original identity, but leaving behind the tradition of its source?

But this is sheer conjecture, as neither Papias,

¹ Or John the Presbyter, as the case may be.

nor Eusebius his historian, gives us the information needed to connect these earlier records positively with the later Gospels with which we are familiar. We must be content with what we have, not pretending to certainty where there is none. All we can say with confidence is that at the time of which we are speaking, so far as Papias informs us, the only writings directly ascribed to Matthew are certain discourses of Jesus in the Hebrew tongue; the only ones ascribed to Mark are certain informal discourses of Peter concerning the life of Jesus; while Luke and John are not mentioned at all.

I have no desire whatever to force these facts into undue prominence, or to base exaggerated conclusions upon them. It must not be forgotten, in the case of Papias, that the description of him in Eusebius is brief at best, and that our knowledge of his writings from other sources is of the scantiest kind.¹ Three or four pages out of five books might not seem enough to warrant even the guarded inferences ventured upon above, as Papias may have made allusions elsewhere to Matthew or Mark which Eusebius overlooked or thought unimportant. Papias

¹ See Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacrae*, i. 1-16. Compare Harnack, *Altchristliche Literatur*, i. 65.

does not mention Paul's Epistles, which he must have known something about;¹ why then, it will be asked, deduce more from his silence about the Gospels than from his silence about Paul? All this must be taken into account, and it would be foolish to disparage it. At the same time it must be borne in mind that Eusebius, writing at a time when the Christian annals have assumed suddenly a world-wide importance, makes it a point to gather from earlier writers all the testimony he can on this very point of the composition and genuineness of the Christian Scriptures. He devotes various chapters to this all-important question.² He also says quite explicitly, as he takes up the

¹ The fact that Papias makes no mention of the Epistles of Paul, which were written long before his time, has led to many curious conjectures. Perhaps he found no material in such didactic writings available for his undidactic purposes. Perhaps he shared in the suspicions of Paul so common in the early church, or thought the Epistles too anti-Jewish in their tone. One critic imagines that the allusion to those who "have much to say" (p. 5) is a hit at the loquacious Paulites. (Hilgenfeld, *Einkl.*, 57.) Possibly the simple reason may be that Paul's Epistles, though of course existing at that time, had a limited circulation, were not collected, and were in vogue only in special communities. Zahn, however, thinks there is evidence of a collection of the Epistles during the first century. (*Kanon-Gesch.*, i. 811, etc.)

² Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, ii. 15; iii. 24, 25; iv. 26; v. 8; vi. 25.

apostolic writings : " As my history progresses, I shall take pains to show what disputed books have been used from time to time by ecclesiastical writers, and what opinions they have expressed either upon the canonical and genuine Scriptures, or upon those not so regarded." ¹

It seems altogether unlikely, therefore, that if Papias had made any more specific statements about Matthew and Mark, or had mentioned the other two Evangelists at all, Eusebius would have overlooked such important testimony, or failed to emphasize it. However this may be, there is no question that the language of Papias, on its face, applies far better to floating Gospel traditions in early process of formation, than to authenticated records, already sifted and edited. This sifting process is the very work in which our bishop is engaged ; and there is no good reason why we should deny ourselves this picturesque glimpse of himself which he gives us. The value of an ancient story for Papias is not that it is contained in official records, but that it comes to him from the lips of venerable men. Whatever documents he has before him, he takes the liberty to prefer his oral reminiscences to them all. We may

¹ *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 3, 3. Compare Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das N. Test.*, 468.

wish that he told us more, or had been quoted more fully ; but, meantime, it is certainly no loss to stand for a moment where this constructive process is going on, and to catch this passing view of the literary methods of the time.¹

¹ Note F.

CHAPTER II

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

IF our brief account of Papias seems too slight a basis for any serious theory of the formation of the Christian Scriptures, let us see how far this first impression is borne out by other writings of the same period. Although Papias was the first to undertake anything like Scripture research, yet other authors there were who will help us in picturing to ourselves these early processes of growth. In any case, an examination of their works is sure to throw some light upon our problem, and cannot be wholly out of place even in so unprofessional a treatise as the present volume.

Let us turn for a moment to the church at Rome. One of the earliest leaders of that church was a certain Clement, who was for a long time considered the same as the Clement mentioned by Paul in his Epistle to the Philip-pians,¹ but of whom we really know nothing beside the writings he has left. In later chron-

¹ Phil. iv. 3; Iren., *Har.*, iii. 3, 3.

icles, when ecclesiastical organizations became more complete, he figured as third or fourth in the list of bishops of Rome,¹ and was, in any case, a man of marked influence, whose name was honorably remembered, and whose personal authority seems to have been felt in the surrounding churches. An anonymous Epistle from "the Church of God which is at Rome to the Church of God which is at Corinth" has come down to us, which was ascribed to Clement from very early times, and may with good reason be considered genuine.² If so, it must have been written about A. D. 95, and is, therefore, the first document that has survived from the times immediately following the apostolic age.³ Violent strife had arisen at Corinth, it seems, in the course of which certain priests had been forcibly ejected from office by an opposing faction in the church.⁴ Whether this was a later outbreak there of the same sort of jealousies

¹ Iren. iii. 3, 3; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 4, 9; Harnack, *Chron.*, i. 191.

² Note G.

³ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 15; iii. 34. Harnack, who has subjected these dates to rigid inspection, places Clement's bishopric at 88-97, and the Epistle at 93-95 or possibly 97. (*Chron.*, i. 201, 251.) Passages in the Epistle like vi. 1 point to a date as far as possible from the apostolic period.

⁴ 1 Clement, i. 1; xlv. 3-6; iii. 3.

which Paul had himself had occasion to reprimand so sharply,¹ or some uprising of the laity against the growing claims of the clergy,² or simply a revolt of the younger and more heady members of the community against their elders, we can only guess, but in any case it was a serious affair, which revealed plainly the loose organization of Christian communities at that formative epoch. It should be noted that the Roman church addresses that at Corinth in this instance, not at all as a superior, but merely as a counselor, with such authority only as was given it by the personal dignity of its bishop.³ Clement insists, indeed, upon submission to the elders,⁴ but not in the tone of the later church, rather in fatherly exhortation, giving the best of advice and recognizing frankly the ultimate authority of the community.⁵ "It

¹ 1 Cor. xii.; xiv.

² 1 Clem. xl. 5. Comp. J. Réville, *Orig. de l'Épiscopat*, 404; Renan, *Hist.*, v. 317.

³ i. 1. It is not quite clear whether the questions here alluded to had been referred by the Corinthians to the Roman church, or merely discussed among themselves. In any case Clement simply offers his advice. (vii. 1.)

⁴ lvii. 1.

⁵ xliv. 3. The Epistle shows a primitive condition of things in the Corinthian church, where bishops and deacons appear together as the highest functionaries (xlii. 4), yet where there is evidently no single-headed episcopate (xliv.

is a shame, my beloved," he writes, "an exceeding shame, unworthy the Christian calling, this report that the most steadfast and ancient church of Corinth has been led, by two or three men, into revolt against its elders." "Who is high-minded among you, who is compassionate, who abounding in love? Let him say; if this sedition, this strife, these schisms be on my account, I will depart, I will do whatsoever is commanded me by the people: only let the flock of Christ, with the elders that are over it, be at peace."¹

Questioning this Epistle for its acquaintance with the New Testament, we find it abounding in Scripture quotations from beginning to end. Its precepts, exhortations, examples, are all in the language of Holy Writ, and enforced as the teachings of the divine spirit. To our surprise, however, they are from the Old Testament exclusively. "Let us take Enoch for our example;" "Noah, being proved to be faithful, did by his ministry preach regeneration to the world;" "Abraham, called the friend, was found faith-

6), and where the Presbyters are an august body in highest authority (i. 3; xxi. 6; liv. 2; lvii. 1), constituting apparently the circle from which the governing officials are drawn (xliv. 1, 2, 5). Comp. J. Réville, *Orig. de l'Épiscopat*, 413, 418; Weizsäcker, ii. 327.

¹ 1 Clem. xlvii. 6; liv. 1, 2.

ful in that he was obedient to the words of God ;" " Let us be followers of those who went about in goatskins and sheepskins, teaching the coming of Christ ; we mean Elijah and Elisha and Ezekiel the prophets." ¹ Indeed, as we read these pages we become aware that the Old Testament is the only book which our author accepts, or is accustomed to think of, as " Scripture." Once or twice, indeed, Christ is introduced as speaking, but singularly enough it is always Old Testament language that he uses. It is through the Psalms or Pentateuch that Christ is regarded as addressing his church. " All these things faith in Christ doth confirm ; for he himself, through the Holy Spirit, doth thus invite us : Come, ye children, hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord." " Again, he himself (Christ) saith : ' I am a worm and no man, a reproach of men and despised of the people.' " ² Some of these passages are from Scriptures quite unknown to us, ³ sometimes the original text is plainly different from either our Hebrew or our Greek version of the Old Testament ; but for the most part they are familiar passages quoted

¹ 1 Clem. ix. 3, 4 ; x. 1 ; xvii. 1.

² xxii. 1 ; Psalms xxxiv. 11 ; xvi. 15 ; Psalms xxii. 6 ; Comp. Heb. xi. 26.

³ xlv. 2.

somewhat loosely, as was the fashion of the day.

It requires no little effort to adjust ourselves to this novel position. I do not mean to imply that Clement shows no familiarity whatever with Christian writings, for there are several passages which suggest more or less vividly our Gospels or Epistles. But in no case are these introduced as "Scripture" passages. That term, and the various designations associated with it, is reserved exclusively, as has been said, for the Jewish Scriptures. These alone are the "Holy Scriptures."¹ The phrases "The Lord saith," "The Holy Spirit saith," "He saith," "It is written," "Wisdom saith," "The elect David saith," are constantly recurring, but always as referring to Prophets, Law, or Psalms.² On two occasions we find the expression, "Remember the words of the Lord Jesus,"³ showing that the Sayings of the Master were held in high authority among the churches, and were already in vogue side by side with the more ancient writings, but not yet admitted to their sacred company. They are not "Scriptures," nor do they come so readily to the disciple's

¹ 1 Clem. liii. 1, 2; xliii. 1.

² iv. 1; xiii. 1; xxx. 4; xxiii. 3; lii. 2; lvii. 3.

³ xiii. 1; xlv. 7.

lips or the writer's pen. Out of 120 possible Scripture citations, only 12 can by any ingenuity be referred to our New Testament.¹

Here is one passage, for instance, which suggests the Epistle to the Hebrews; not quoted as such, indeed, nor exactly in the language of our present text, yet unmistakably related to that writing: "Through him the Lord² would have us taste the immortal knowledge; who, being the brightness of his majesty, is so much greater than the angels as he hath inherited a more excellent name."³ Indeed, there is more tinge of the Hebrews in this Epistle of Clement than of any other New Testament writing; as though the writer were especially fond of that particular letter, or especially familiar with it; or as though perhaps the two Epistles were written at about the same time, when this special phraseology was current. As Clement introduces this passage in his own language, giving no credit to an outside source, and as neither writer betrays any knowledge of the other, it is not quite certain which of the two is the borrower, if either, and which the lender.⁴

¹ I have followed here Lightfoot's references. (*Apos. Fathers*, 1893.)

² ὁ θεσπότης.

³ 1 Clem. xxxvi. 2.

⁴ xxxvi. 3-5; xliii. 1. In most of these cases the only point of affinity between the two Epistles is that the two

Our author knows the Apostle Paul and his writings, and gives us pieces of information concerning him quite startling to those who know Paul only from the pages of the New Testament. "So, having taught the whole world righteousness, and journeying to the utmost bounds of the west, when he had borne his testimony¹ before the rulers, he departed from the world and went unto the holy place."² But although Clement is addressing the Corinthians, he alludes to Paul's Epistles to that church but once by name,³ leaving us in other cases to conjecture his acquaintance with that or other Epistles only by vague resemblances. Here is perhaps the most direct quotation, though even in this case not given as a quotation: "Let us take our body; the head without the feet is nothing, so the feet without the head are nothing, but the smallest members of our body are necessary and useful to the whole body."⁴

authors use the same passages from the Old Testament, and in the same way. Comp. Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 38; Renan, *Hist.*, v. 334.

¹ Or "having suffered martyrdom."

² 1 Clem. v. 7. See Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das N. Test.*, 280.

³ xlvii. 1-3. Clement says here, "Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle," as though there were but one Epistle to the Corinthians.

⁴ xxxvii. 5. Comp. 1 Cor. xii.

Still more striking are Clement's references to the words of Jesus himself, which might be supposed to afford as many practical precepts as those of Moses or David. They are not given as "Scripture," yet are introduced as if familiar to his readers, whether from oral repetition, or from chance collections of the Master's precepts already current. Here is the most definite and unmistakable: "Above all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which he spake teaching clemency and long-suffering. For thus he said: Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy, forgive that it may be forgiven unto you, as ye do so shall it be done unto you, as ye give so shall it be given unto you, as ye judge so shall ye be judged, as ye are kind so shall kindness be shown unto you, with what measure ye mete with the same shall it be measured unto you."¹ How strangely familiar yet unfamiliar this sounds. One is quite bewildered by it; turning first to Matthew v. 7, then to vi. 12-15, but finding it necessary to piece out the extract with vii. 2, or Luke vi. 36-38, and even then leaving one precept quite unaccounted for, unless it be a faint reminiscence of 1 Cor. xiii. 4. Quite the same is the effect of the only other reference to the words of Jesus which this Epis-

¹ 1 Clem. xiii. 1, 2.

tle contains : "Remember the words of our Lord Jesus : Woe to that man ; it were good for him that he had not been born, rather than to offend one of my elect ; it were better for him that a millstone be hanged about him and he be cast into the sea, than that he should pervert one of my elect." ¹ Here again we must turn to Matthew xviii. 6, 7 ; xxvi. 24 ; Mark xiv. 21 ; ix. 42 ; Luke xvii. 1, 2 ; xxii. 22, to find all the fragments here put together, and we ask ourselves where Clement could have discovered the passage. Is he quoting from memory, as would be natural enough, and as is apparently the case with some of his Old Testament citations ; ² or from oral traditions simply ; or has he before him some collection of the Lord's Sayings which has been long ago forgotten ? One of these guesses is as good as the other ; the only thing of which we are sure being that he is not quoting from either of our four Gospels. Nor does it seem altogether natural that this leader of the churches should have had those Gospels in full form before him, without once appealing to them to reinforce his own authority. Whatever our judgment on this point, it is worth our while to remember this attitude of the early

¹ 1 Clem. xlv. 7, 8.

² viii. 2, 3 ; xiii. 1 ; xv. 2-7 ; xxxiv. 3.

church towards its written Scriptures. One Bible was enough for the church of this period, it would seem. They had Moses and the Prophets; what need of more? Those ancient books which had come down from earliest time, through which Christ himself had spoken to patriarchs and prophets, and which contained, for those who understood, the promise and prophecy of the Messiah's coming, possessed a sanctity to which nothing else at first could aspire. Thus far, at least, the churches could find a place for no other Scripture.¹

Turning once more to the East; in the ninth² year of the reign of Trajan, that emperor, so says an ancient chronicle, visited the city of Antioch on his way to Parthia, and while there tried to force the Christians to sacrifice to the Roman gods. Their bishop, Ignatius by name, having scorned this summons, and urged others to do the same, was brought before the emperor and boldly declared: "Thou art in error when thou callest the evil spirits of the heathen gods. For there is but one God, who made heaven and earth, . . . and one Jesus Christ, his only begotten son; whose kingdom may I enjoy." "Whereupon," so says our chronicle, "Trajan pronounced this sentence against him; Forasmuch as Ignatius has confessed that he carries

¹ See Note H.

² Or, nineteenth.

about within himself Him that was crucified, we command that he be carried bound with soldiers to great Rome, there to be thrown to the beasts for the entertainment of the people."¹ Ignatius was then carried to Rome, passing through Asia Minor on the way, and scattering letters as he went among the churches of the East. About fifteen epistles, claiming to have come from this source, have survived, together with a detailed account of his martyrdom in Rome.

The whole narrative has a somewhat mythical air, and as it accords poorly with the historical facts of Trajan's reign, and as, moreover, no mention of our chronicle can be found till two or three centuries later, we have every reason to question its authenticity.² The letters themselves, however, have the value of ancient documents, by whomsoever written; and seven of them³ have internal evidence in their favor, and belong certainly to the first half of the century.⁴

¹ *Acts of Martyrdom of Ignatius*, ch. ii.

² Eusebius, who gives a brief account of Ignatius's martyrdom, shows no knowledge of this document. (*Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 36.) See, also, Lightfoot, *Apos. Fathers*, ii. 363-391, 448, 480.

³ To the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Smyrnæans, Polycarp.

⁴ Note I.

Looking at these seven Epistles, we find a writer who was evidently less familiar with the Scriptures, or cared less for their authority, than Clement, as he makes slight allusion to either Old Testament or New, never citing either by name, and leaving us to guess his acquaintance with them by similarities of expression. This in itself has no special significance, as quotations in the style of to-day are not to be looked for in the writings of that period, and if these letters were really written on his last journey to Rome, exact citations could not be expected in any case. Nor does the writer fail to declare again and again the authority of the doctrines and teachings of Jesus Christ.¹ At the same time, the absence of all New Testament coloring on the part of a bishop addressing neighbor communities is certainly noteworthy, and is now and then very pointed. In speaking of his fellow Christians of Antioch, for instance, he applies to himself the very expression used by Paul, — "being the least among them, as one born out of due time ;"² yet without the slightest allusion to Paul, but as though the language were his own. Or again, take these passages which may be selected out of all the

¹ Eph. vi. 2 ; xv. 2 ; Magnes. xiii. 1.

² Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 8 ; Ignat. to Romans, ix. 2.

Epistles as the most exact references to the New Testament. In neither case are they given as quotations, nor is any Gospel writer mentioned.¹

In his Epistle to the Ephesians he says : " If the prayer of one and another hath such power, how much more that of the bishop and the whole church." This shows pretty clearly that the writer has some familiar saying in mind, and if it be any passage from our Scriptures we might guess that it was " If two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven." ² Again he says : " The tree is manifest by its fruit ; so they who profess to be Christ's shall be known by what they do." ³ This suggests of course Matthew xii. 33, but the dissimilarity in phrase is as marked as the similarity of thought. Once more, in writing to the Philadelphians, he says : " The spirit being from God is not deceived ; for it knows whence it comes and whither it goes, and it searches out all hidden things." ⁴ Possi-

¹ In all the seven Epistles there are perhaps nine cases where New Testament language is obviously used.

² Ignat. to Eph. v. 2. Comp. Matt. xviii. 19.

³ Ignat. to Eph. xiv. 2. Comp. Matt. xii. 33.

⁴ Ignat. to Phil. vii. 1. Comp. John iii. 8.

bly he has John iii. 8 in mind,¹ though, singularly enough, the point of the expression in the one case is that the ways of the spirit are not known, in the other that they are known. Finally, let us turn to Ignatius's Epistle to Polycarp, where we come at last upon a single clause, sufficiently brief to be sure, which but for its surprising juxtaposition might be taken directly from our Gospels: "Not every hurt is healed by the same plaster. Soothe paroxysms with embrocations. Be thou wise as the serpent in all things, and harmless as the dove."²

It is hardly worth while to give further extracts, where they all tell the same story; but from these alone we can see clearly that whatever familiarity with our Gospels or Epistles Ignatius may have had, he finds little occasion to show it, and can hardly be thought of as having canonical documents in his hands. This may seem very little light to gain from so renowned a source; yet it is worth our while to have gleaned at least so much from the most voluminous of all the earlier contributions to our Christian literature.³

¹ The phraseology in the original, so far as it goes, is quite the same.

² Ignat. to Polycarp, ii. 1, 2. Comp. Matt. x. 16.

³ See Note J.

Among the places visited by Ignatius on his way to Rome was the seaport city of Smyrna, whose little church was presided over at that time by Polycarp, a man affectionately remembered a generation later as one who liked to tell of his "intimate personal familiarity with John, and with others too who had seen the Lord."¹ He was still better known in after times as one of the first of the long line of Christian martyrs. A circular epistle from the church at Smyrna, written probably long afterwards,² gives touching details of the martyrdom; telling also how reverently the bones of the martyr were gathered up, and how the fire "making a kind of arch, like the sail of a ship filled with the wind, encompassed as in a circle the body of the holy martyr. Who stood in the midst of it, not as if his flesh were burnt, but as bread that is baked, or as gold or silver glowing in the furnace. Moreover, so sweet a smell came from it as if frankincense or some rich spices had been smoking there."³ The age of miracles had not yet passed.

Polycarp appears in the annals of the church as a stout advocate of sound doctrine and stern

¹ Iren., *Har.*, iii. 3, 4; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, v. 20, 6.

² See Note K.

³ *Mart. of Polycarp*, 15.

foe to all dissenters ;¹ but leaves behind him only a single epistle, written after the death of Ignatius to the church at Philippi. There are the usual difficulties in the way of a hearty acceptance of this epistle ; reminding us how few of the best-attested writings of the period can have reached us in quite their original form. In one chapter Ignatius appears as still living, and Polycarp asks for further information about him ; in another he has already died, and has become a saint.² But we learn not to be too exacting as to a period whose records, in the nature of the case, cannot have been solicitously watched over ; and are willing to accept such as give reasonable proof of their genuineness.³

In this epistle we find little of the ecclesiastic instinct which marked the writings of Ignatius. Not a bishop is mentioned throughout, though presbyters and deacons hold a high place.⁴ On the other hand the Holy Scriptures, and still more the teaching of the Lord, occupy his thoughts greatly,⁵ as do also the letters of Paul, whom he is one of the first to honor, and much of whose phraseology is familiar to him. In fact, there are more suggestions of the New Tes-

¹ Iren. iii. 3, 4 ; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, v. 24, 16.

² Polycarp to Phil. xiii. 2 ; ix. 1.

³ See Note L.

⁴ Polycarp, v. 3.

⁵ xii. 1.

tament in this one short epistle, though but dim and distant echoes at best, than in all the writings of Ignatius put together. "Remember," he writes, "what things the Lord taught, saying: Judge not that ye be not judged; forgive, and it shall be forgiven to you; be ye merciful that ye may receive mercy; with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again. Also, Blessed are the poor and they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God."¹ This unfamiliar collocation of familiar sayings reminds us at once of Clement,² and as in that case carries us from Matt. vii. 1, 2 to Luke vi. 36-38, and back to Matt. v. 3, 7, 10, before we discover all the fragments. Another passage presents in new guise one of the practical maxims of the Epistle to Timothy: "The beginning of all troubles is the love of money. Knowing therefore that we brought nothing into the world, yet have nothing to carry out, let us arm ourselves with the armor of righteousness."³ Here again is a verse which puts tentatively what in our version of the Lord's Prayer appears quite unequivocally; adding a clause as if from Paul's Epistle to the Romans: "If then we beseech the Lord to forgive us, we

¹ Polycarp, ii. 3.

² See p. 29.

³ iv. 1 and 1 Tim. vi. 10, 7.

ought also to forgive ; for we are in the sight of our Lord and God, and must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, and each one give an account of himself." ¹ In the following verse we recognize another passage from the Lord's Prayer, though given in the writer's own language, and introducing an unconnected saying of the Lord Jesus : " Beseeching the all-seeing God with entreaties not to lead us into temptation ; as the Lord said ; The spirit indeed is willing but the flesh is weak." ²

The above are the most obvious allusions in this Epistle to our Christian Scriptures ; much more valuable, it will be seen, as showing how the bishops of those days dealt with the records, and in what condition they found them, than as citations of any exact passages. Here is a writer who draws reverently from such words of the Lord, or letters of Paul, as are already current, without associating them for a moment with the sacred Scriptures. It does not occur to him, more than to the other writers mentioned above, to call either Gospel by name, or to quote definitely from any ; leaving us to conjecture whether this is owing simply to the habits of the time, or to the fact that the mate-

¹ Polycarp, vi. 2, and Rom. xiv. 10, 12.

² vii. 2 ; Matt. vi. 13 ; xxvi. 41.

rials of those Gospels are still floating from church to church, as uncollected and unsystematized memoranda of a holy past. There is a great charm in lingering over a period marked by this easy and unquestioning acceptance of the present, undisturbed by anxiety about records or texts.¹

Another interesting relic from this period is the so-called Epistle of Barnabas. That it was really written by Barnabas, the companion of Paul,² there is little internal or external evidence to prove; but as many writings of doubtful authorship and many claimants for apostolic authority were current in those days, this does not show that it was not a genuinely ancient document. It may safely be accepted as from an unknown author of the early part of the century.³

This Epistle introduces us into a new religious atmosphere. The burning question of the relation of Christianity to Judaism was in the air, and the author is at pains to vindicate the right of Christianity to stand alone. But singularly enough he draws his proof of the supremacy of the new faith not from the Christian Scriptures, but from the Jewish; not from the life or

¹ See Note M.

² Acts xiii. 2; Gal. ii. 13.

³ See Note N.

teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, but from Abraham, Moses, and the Prophets. The Jews had the Old Testament indeed, and supposed that it was their own, but they were mistaken. They had found in it only its external historical sense, which was false and a deception of the devil.¹ The true sense of the Scriptures is the spiritual sense, intended from the first by Moses, but obscure to the Jews and meant to be so.² Thus they are ours alone, for we first see their meaning.³ "The Prophets, having received from him [Jesus] their gift of [prophecy] prophesied of him."⁴ When Moses said, "Enter into the good land which the Lord sware unto Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and inherit it, a land flowing with milk and honey," this had only a figurative meaning. "For what says Gnosis?⁵ Learn. Put your hope, it says, in him who is to be manifested to you in the flesh, even Jesus."⁶ The high priest is ordered to take two goats, one for a burnt offering, the other to be accursed. It is a type of Jesus "spit upon and pricked and cast forth into the wilderness."⁷ What was the meaning of circumcision? It

¹ Barnabas, viii. 7; ix. 4.

² x. 2.

³ iv. 6.

⁴ v. 6.

⁵ *I. e.*, What is the hidden sense?

⁶ vi. 8, 10. Comp. Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, v. 10.

⁷ vii. 6, 7. Comp. Lev. xvi. 7, 8.

was not of the flesh. In it lay a profound mystery, known only to Abraham. "Understand these things perfectly, children of love; how Abraham, who was the first to circumcise, was looking forward in spirit unto Jesus when he circumcised, having received the ordinances¹ of three letters." These letters were the 318 men whom Abraham had circumcised, and under 318 were hidden Jesus and the Cross.² Beneath these successive symbols, we are to understand, lie all the doctrines of Christianity.

In such a writing we shall look of course for little of the New Testament. I can find but two or three passages which can with any probability be considered as drawn from Gospel or Epistle.³ But one of these is curious enough to be quoted, as showing the various and unexpected connections in which the same words may appear in days when literature is forming. It gives also an entirely original tradition about the Apostles. "When he chose his own apostles, who were to preach his gospel, he took men who were sinful beyond all account; that he might show that he did not come to call the

¹ δόγματα.

² Barnabas, ix. 4, 7, 8. Comp. Gen. xiv. 14; xvii. 23.

³ iv. 14, comp. Mt. xxii. 14; v. 9, comp. Mt. ix. 13; vi. 5, comp. 1 Cor. iv. 13 (the one word περιψημα); xii. 7, comp. Rom. xi. 36.

righteous but sinners. So he manifested himself to be the son of God."¹ This sounds familiar in a way; but if we ask ourselves where the author could have found it, the last place we should guess, I think, considering the connection, would be Matthew ix. 13.

Among the writings of this period, the "Shepherd of Hermas" must not be forgotten.² It is little known to-day, yet at the time of which we are speaking it was in great vogue, and held by many as divinely inspired. Its history was unique, and shows how loosely the canonical lines were drawn at that period. In the Roman church it was refused a place among holy books on the ground that the ranks of the prophets and apostles were already closed, and also that its author was perfectly well known,³ while in other quarters it was freely quoted as an in-

¹ Barnabas, v. 9.

² The *Shepherd of Hermas* was probably written about 140, as the Muratori Canon assigns it quite definitely to the time of Pius, Bishop of Rome (about 140-155), and claims that Hermas was the brother of the bishop. This is the best evidence we have, though Schwegler and others think it only an attempt to degrade an earlier document, and place the *Shepherd* at the beginning of the century. (*Nachapos. Zeitalter*, i. 328-342; Neander, *Hist.*, i. 660; Krüger, *Early Chris. Literature*, p. 44.)

³ Muratori Canon, 4.

spired work, and classed as Scripture.¹ While one eminent father declared it out and out an immoral writing, another of still ampler learning cited it with profound respect, as if on a level with apostolic writings.² A century later it was still "publicly read in the churches," and still under dispute as a canonical book.³ In the end, it seems to have passed wholly out of ecclesiastical use, and would certainly be regarded as of slight religious worth to-day, however serviceable as revealing the tastes as well as the religious conditions of the times.

It was one of the allegorical treatises of the hour, and enforced practical precepts through an endless series of Visions, Mandates, and Similitudes. These revelations were made to Hermas by a mysterious personage in the costume of a shepherd, and were aimed at the evils from which the infant church was then suffering,—love of the world, blasphemy, be-

¹ "Divinely, therefore, did the Power which spoke by revelation to Hermas say: These visions and revelations are for those who are double-minded and pondering in their souls, whether, after all, such things are or are not." Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, i. 29; ii. 9; Iren. iv. 20, 2.

² Tertull., *Pudic.*, 10, 20; Origen, *De Prin.*, iv. 1, 11; i. 3, 3.

³ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 3, 6; iii. 25, 4; Jerome, *Vir. Ill.*, 10. For other ancient references to this book, see Renan, *Hist.*, vi. 422.

trayal of the Lord's servants, denial of Christ, false prophecy.¹

In a treatise of this prophetic stamp, claiming itself to be the direct mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit, we cannot look for many scriptural passages; hardly more, indeed, than in the Acts or the Epistle to the Hebrews. There are two or three, however, which are worth quoting as showing at least some familiarity with our New Testament phraseology. "I, the angel of repentance, esteem you happy, whosoever are innocent as little children, since your portion is good and honorable before God." "Now the rich find it hard to consort with the servants of God, fearing lest these should ask something of them. Such then shall hardly enter into the kingdom of God."² On the other hand, this precept, however fine in itself, would hardly imply an acquaintance with the Sermon on the Mount: "The day on which thou fastest thou shalt taste nothing but bread and water; and having reckoned the amount thou wouldst have spent upon the food thou wouldst have eaten on that day, thou shalt give it to the widow, the orphan, the one in want."³

The spiritual needs of generations differ,

¹ *Sim.*, viii. 6; ix. 19, 20, 26; *Man.*, x. xi.

² *Sim.*, ix. 31, 3; ix. 20, 2.

³ *Sim.*, v. 3, 7.

This strange composition which won the hearts of the best and highest of their time, which was read in their churches with Gospels and Prophets, and almost secured for itself a place in Holy Writ, has been long ago forgotten, and we try in vain to revive the religious needs or longings which could once have given it worth.

Less important than the preceding, yet quite worthy of our notice, is the little fragment which, for some unknown reason, has always borne the name of the Second Epistle of Clement. The first ecclesiastical writer to mention it himself questions its authenticity,¹ and the closing paragraphs, very recently discovered, indicate plainly that it was no letter at all, but rather a specimen of the exhortations or homilies used at the Sunday gatherings of the young churches.² Judging from internal evidence the

¹ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 38, 4.

² Chaps. xii. to xx. formed part of the Codex containing the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. This was given to the world in 1875. In another (Syriac) manuscript this writing appears, together with 1 Clement, in a place of honor among the canonical Epistles. The homiletic character of the writing is indicated in chaps. xvii., xix., xx. One of these paragraphs opens: "Let us not think to give heed and believe now only, while we are admonished by the Presbyters, but likewise when we have departed home, let us remember the commandments of the Lord." Again: "Let us then have faith, brothers and sisters." "Therefore, brothers

writing seems to belong to about A. D. 140 or 150; in which case it is the earliest example that we possess of the ancient Christian sermon.¹

The Gospel quotations given by this writer are peculiar. They are taken from what he calls "the Gospel," and are cited with the same respect as though found in the Jewish Scriptures.² In distinguishing the two, however, he does not seem familiar with the terms Old and New, but speaks of the "Books" and the "Apostles."³ Nor do the extracts themselves correspond altogether with any in our Gospels, but are obviously taken from some primitive collection of Christ's Sayings no longer extant.

and sisters, after the God of truth, I deliver to you an exhortation to pay heed to what is written, so that ye may save both yourselves and him that readeth among you." In this last passage, the expression "God of truth" seems to refer to the Scriptures; showing that the homily or sermon followed immediately the Scripture reading.

¹ Jülicher places it at 145; Renan at 151; Lightfoot at 120-140. Harnack ventures the hypothesis that this is the missive which Dionysius acknowledges in his letter to Soter, Bishop of Rome: "To-day we have spent the Lord's holy day in which we have read your epistle." (Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 23, 11.) If this were so, the date would be about 170. (Harnack, *Chron.*, 440, etc.)

² 2 Clem. ii. 4; viii. 5.

³ xiv. 2. Comp. Harnack, *Chron.*, 446 n.

One of them sounds like a distant echo of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, though with the same chaotic arrangement which we have found so often before : "Saith the Lord ; no servant can serve two masters ; if we wish to serve both God and Mammon, it is of no advantage to us ; for what profit is there if one gain the whole world and lose his soul ?" The following extracts are still more bizarre : "For the Lord saith ; Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves. But Peter answered and said to him ; What then if the wolves shall tear the lambs in pieces ? Jesus said unto Peter ; Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they have died ; and ye too, fear not them that kill you and can do nothing to you ; but fear ye Him that after ye have died hath power over soul and body to cast them into the gehenna of fire." And this : "For the Lord himself, when asked by a certain person when his kingdom would come, said ; When two shall be one, and that without as that within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female." ¹

As this last passage is known to have belonged to the Gospel of the Egyptians, the natural inference is that all the writer's citations are from that apocryphal source. This is

¹ 2 Clem. vi. 1 ; v. 2-4 ; xii. 2.

what he calls "the Gospel," and is apparently the only Gospel he knows.¹

Our knowledge of this period has been unexpectedly added to in our own time by the discovery of one of the manuals of practical instruction which were known to have been current in the early church, but of which no specimen so complete had been found before.² This is called the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," and was found in the Library of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople in 1873, and published in 1883.³ It is hardly time as yet to assign it its exact place in Christian literature, but there seems little doubt that it belongs to the first half of the second century, and in any case it gives a picture of a very primitive condition of the Christian church. It was a time

¹ Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 13. These citations are singular enough in any case; but if Harnack's ingenious hypothesis should be accepted, we should have the remarkable situation of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, gratefully receiving from Soter, Bishop of Rome, for church uses a Homily which draws its Words of the Lord chiefly, if not wholly, from the Gospel of the Egyptians.

² The *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* contain similar precepts, often in the same language and sequence.

³ See *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, Hitchcock and Brown, New York, 1884; also, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel, nebst Untersuchungen*, etc., A. Harnack, 1883.

when there was as yet no established episcopate, when itinerant preachers, under the name of apostles, prophets, or teachers, were to be received and honored as the Lord, unless they showed themselves too exorbitant or self-seeking,¹ when the Eucharist was still in the form of an actual meal,² and when the ultimate power rested in the hands of the congregation.³ Bishops and Deacons, equal in rank, were to be appointed by the people for administrative functions, and were not to be despised, but were quite subordinate to the divinely instructed Prophet, the High Priest, who is taught by God, and who is to receive the firstfruits of "wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and sheep."⁴

These "Teachings of the Lord," claiming to emanate from his Apostles, were drawn in large part, we may suppose, from the same oral sources to which Papias looked for his best traditions, partly also from written records unknown to us,⁵ but in part from a document evidently familiar to both writer and readers called "the Gospel."⁶ As this is the second time that

¹ Chaps. iv., xi., xii., xiii. ² ix., x.

³ xv. "Appoint for yourselves," etc. For the church organization at this time, see J. Réville, *Orig. de l'Épiscopat*, pp. 234-261; Harnack, *Gesch. d. Altch. Lit.*, ii. 88-158; Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, ii. 302, 326-337.

⁴ xiii.

⁵ End of ch. i.

⁶ viii., xi., xv.

we have come upon this title, we are interested of course in knowing what this Gospel may have been. The only direct quotation taken from it is the Lord's Prayer, given almost exactly as we find it in Matthew, and prescribed to be repeated three times in the day.¹ Did he, then, call Matthew "the Gospel," thinking it more authoritative than the others, or possibly not knowing any other; or does he apply the term to all Gospel writings in general, not troubling himself to discriminate between one Evangelist and another? We can judge only from other passages of the manual, where, though there is no reference to the Gospels, yet the language of the New Testament, or language closely corresponding with it, is freely used. At the very opening of the "Teaching," for instance, occurs this clause: "The way of life is this: First, thou shalt love the God that made thee; secondly, thy neighbor as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldst not have happen unto thee neither do thou unto another. Now of these words the doctrine is this: Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, but fast for them that persecute you. For what thank have ye if ye love them that love you? do not even the Gentiles the

¹ Ch. viii.

same? But love them that hate you, and ye shall have no enemy. Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts. If any one give thee a blow on thy right cheek turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect; if any one compel thee to go a mile go with him twain; if any one take away thy cloke let him have thy coat also; if any one take from thee what is thine, ask it not back again; for indeed thou canst not."¹ Again, somewhat later, at the close of a chapter upon the Eucharist, occurs this startling passage, which might well have startled Matthew himself: "Let no one eat nor drink of your Eucharist but those that are baptized into the name of the Lord; for of this very thing the Lord hath said, Give not that which is holy unto the dogs."² Finally, in the closing chapter, describing the Lord's coming to judgment, are the words: "Watch for your life's sake; let not your lamps go out nor your loins be loosed, but be ye ready; for ye know not the hour in which your Lord cometh."³

In listening to these surprising passages, it seems impossible to imagine that the writer had any of our four Gospels in their present form before him. If we must assume that it is either, a careful examination of the text shows rather

¹ Ch. i. ² ix.; Matt. vii. 6. ³ xvi.; Luke xii. 35.

more reminiscences of Matthew than of the others;¹ yet if that Gospel is in his hands, he is certainly treating Matthew with greater nonchalance than would be allowable in these later and less reverent days. If it be memory-work, then the memory was less to be trusted in those days than now; nor is it easy to suppose that in preparing a manual for so serious a service, a writer would draw upon memory alone, if the sacred books were close at hand. But why create for ourselves difficulties which do not

¹ A careful examination of the *Teaching* shows that out of twenty-three possible reminiscences of the New Testament seventeen resemble Matthew, four are dim suggestions of Luke. See Hitchcock and Brown, 30; Harnack, 65.

Allowing these resemblances, however, it by no means follows that the writer has either of our present Gospels before him. "Far from being later than the final revision of our Matthew," says Réville, "the *Teaching* must have been earlier than Matthew." (*Orig. de l'Épiscopat*, 240.) "So far as our material allows of any judgment," says Harnack, "the author certainly used some Gospel based upon Matthew, and enlarged from Luke." As Harnack finds signs of an Egyptian origin in the *Teaching*, he suggests that the ancient Gospel evidently in the hands of the author may have been the "Gospel according to the Egyptians;" a Gospel quoted by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.*, iii. 9; iii. 13), and known also to the author of 2 Clement to Cor. (xii.). It is less important, of course, to guess which writing is earlier and which later, than to recognize that all these writings belong to the same category of unclassified Gospel material. (See Harnack, *Lehre*, etc., 159, 167.)

exist, or forbid these ancient records to tell their own simple story? Our author is familiar with a writing which he as well as his readers knows as "the Gospel." More than once he refers to it, in terms as obvious to them, we must suppose, as perplexing to us. "Reprove one another," he says, "not in anger but in peace, as ye have it in the Gospel. . . . But your prayers and your alms and all your deeds do ye as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord."¹ It is a Gospel differing from any now known to us. But if only four Gospels survived out of the many writings then in circulation,² many must have perished, or have been absorbed into the few that were destined to live. Why should we be surprised to come upon the traces of such provisional forms? The early annals of our own modern communities pass through various unconscious shapes before assuming their final historic character; why expect the process to have been less gradual seventeen or eighteen centuries ago? If the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" helps the Christian world to a more intelligent understanding of its early records, it will serve a far higher purpose than the study of its doctrines is likely to accomplish.³

¹ Ch. xv.² Luke i. 1.³ Note O.

A still more startling discovery of these later years was made upon the Nile in 1886. However little light Egyptian archæological explorations have thrown upon the Old Testament, they have succeeded, in this instance at least, in giving most unexpected additions to our slender materials concerning the New. In unearthing old Coptic graves at Akhmim¹ on the east bank of the Nile, not far from Girgeh, the French came upon an eighth or ninth century manuscript containing, among other Christian writings, a fragmentary narrative of the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. It was apparently a piece of a larger document, and has properly neither beginning nor end, but closes in this abrupt way: "But I Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother, taking our nets departed to the Sea, and with us was Levi the son of Alphæus whom the Lord"² . . . It claims, then, to have been written by the Apostle Peter; an interesting promise in itself, but still more so as there are ancient allusions to a Gospel of Peter which have hitherto excited

¹ Or Ekhmim.

² See *Akhmim Fragment of Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter*, H. B. Swete, 1893; *Bruchstücke des Evan. und der Apokalypse des Petrus*, A. Harnack, 1893. The manuscript contained fragments of the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter, and also two fragments of the Book of Enoch.

great curiosity without affording any definite clue to the writing itself.¹

It is hardly time as yet for the New Testament scholars, who alone are competent to pass judgment here, to have reached very confident conclusions on all the points started by this discovery ; but they agree apparently in regarding our fragment as the closing passages of the lost "Gospel according to Peter," and ascribe it pretty unanimously to the early part of the second century. It seems a strange freak of fortune which enabled an obscure Coptic monk of the eighth century to hand down to us a gospel record of which every trace had been lost to the learned world since the earliest times.²

At last, then, we have a Gospel ; and one which, though superseded in the end, was at one time unhesitatingly used in Christian churches of the East. About A. D. 200, for instance, Serapion, the Bishop of Antioch, in visiting a Cilician church of his diocese, found the Gospel of Peter in use there. At first he

¹ Origen on Matthew x. 17 ; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 3, 2 ; iii. 25, 6 ; vi. 12. Comp. Harnack, 3. Origen quotes from this Gospel the tradition that the brothers of Jesus were from another wife of Joseph, before Mary.

² "Between Eusebius and the date of this manuscript there is no independent notice of the existence of the Gospel of Peter." (Harnack, 5.)

gave himself no trouble about it, but afterwards, on finding that it was creating some agitation in the community, satisfied himself that it contained a few doubtful doctrines, and forbade its further circulation.¹ I will give full citations from this Gospel to show its character as compared with those more familiar to us. It is a short fragment at best, and begins apparently in the midst of some such scene as is depicted in Matthew xxvii. 24. Pilate has probably just washed his hands as our narrative begins.

“But of the Jews not one washed his hands, neither did Herod, nor one of his judges.² And as they refused to wash their hands, Pilate arose; and at once Herod the king commands them to seize the Lord, saying to them, what I have ordered you to do to him, that do. Now there was present there Joseph the friend of Pilate and of the Lord, and as he saw that they were about to crucify him, he came to Pilate and besought the body of the Lord for burial.³

¹ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, vi. 12. This happened at Rhosse.

² Herod's prominence shows quite a different tradition from that of our Gospels, though suggesting Luke xxiii. 7.

³ Joseph is evidently the same as Joseph of Arimathea, though he comes forward in this narrative at a much earlier moment than in the other Gospels (Matt. xxvii. 57), and figures here in the unfamiliar rôle of a friend of Pilate.

And Pilate sent to Herod and begged for the body, and Herod said : Even if no one had asked for it, we should have buried him before the first day of Unleavened Bread, their feast (for the Sabbath was already dawning, and it is written in the Law, that the sun shall not go down upon one that is slain).¹ Then they seizing the Lord dragged him off upon the run, saying ; Let us hale the Son of God now we have him in our power."² . . . "And they brought two malefactors, and crucified the Lord between them, and he remained silent, as one who suffered no pain."³ . . . "But one of the malefactors rebuked them (the soldiers) saying ; We are suffering for the evil we have done, but this, the Saviour of men, what wrong has he done you?⁴ And they were wroth with the malefactor, and ordered that his bones be not broken,

¹ According to this account the crucifixion must have taken place before the Passover began ; while in Matthew, Mark, and Luke the Passover began the night before the crucifixion. Our Gospel agrees in this respect with the Gospel of John. (John xiii. 1 ; xviii. 28.)

² vv. 1-6.

³ v. 10. This idea that Jesus did not suffer on the cross is not found in either of our Gospels, but became current very naturally as the belief in his super-terrestrial nature established itself. In later days this was called Docetism.

⁴ More like Luke xxiii. 40, 41, than Matt. xxvii. 44, or Mark xv. 32.

that he might die in torture.¹ Now it was noonday and darkness covered the whole of Judæa, and they were troubled and distressed lest the sun had gone down while he still lived.”² . . . “And many went about with torches thinking it was night and fell down. And the Lord cried aloud saying ; My Power, my Power, thou hast forsaken me ; and as he said this he was taken up.”³ . . . “Then the Jews and the elders and the priests saw what evil they had brought upon themselves, and began to beat their breasts and say ; Woe upon us for our sins, the judgment is drawing near and the end of Jerusalem. But I and my companions, troubled and sick at heart, hid ourselves, for they pursued us as malefactors, thinking we would burn the temple. And after all these things we fasted and sat night and day groaning and lamenting until the Sabbath.”⁴ . . . “And Pilate

¹ A singular reminiscence of the same tradition is found in John xix. 32, 33, though in a very different form.

² vv. 13-15.

³ vv. 18, 19. ἡ δύναμις μου. “Power” may perhaps be used here in a mystic sense, to designate the celestial spirit which had dwelt in Christ during his human career, but had now left him ; or possibly it is the author’s understanding of Psalms xxii. 1 (as quoted Matt. xxvii. 46). Comp. Harnack, 65, 66. The phrase “taken up” refers to the final “ascension” of the Lord. (Acts i. 2.)

⁴ vv. 25-27. An altogether independent tradition.

gave them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to guard the grave, and with them came elders and scribes to the sepulchre ; and when they had all, soldiers and centurion together, rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, they set it there and placed upon it seven seals, and pitching there their tent they kept watch. And as the Sabbath dawned a great multitude came from Jerusalem and round about to see the sepulchre that was sealed. And in the night as the Lord's day broke, as the soldiers kept watch by two and two, came a loud voice from heaven, and they saw the heavens open and two men descend in dazzling light and draw near the sepulchre. Then that stone which had been set at the door rolled aside and gave way of itself, and the grave opened and the two young men entered. But when the soldiers saw this they aroused the centurion and elders who had been watching with them, and as they told them what they had seen, again they behold three men coming out from the grave two of them supporting one, and following them a cross ; and the heads of the two reached up to the heavens, and the head of him whom they supported towered above the heavens ; and they heard a voice from heaven saying, Hast thou preached unto them that sleep ? and from the

cross came the answer, Yes.¹ And they debated with each other whether they should go unto Pilate and announce these things, and even as they meditate, again the heavens are opened and a man descends and enters into the sepulchre."²

It will hardly be claimed that this curious fragment lends much pathos or impressiveness to these tragic hours; but it shows as nothing else could the fantastic handling to which the historic facts were subjected, and the varied streams of tradition through which they have come down to us. However mythical and extravagant this Gospel may appear to us, it found a ready hearing, it seems, in those uncritical days. Its exact relation to our four Gospels we must leave to professional scholars in due time to determine, supposing it to be a deter-

¹ This dramatic passage shows how differently the traditions of the resurrection took shape in different localities. The allusion to "them that sleep" is probably a reference to the descent of Christ into hell; an incident unknown to our four Gospels, but the belief in which soon sprang up to account for the interval during which the spirit of Jesus had left the body, yet had not risen from the grave. (1 Pet. iii. 19; Gospel of Nicodemus, xiii.-xx.) Still later it was believed that the Apostles also had preached to those in Hades. (Clem. Alex. vi. 6.) Matt. xxvii. 52, 53, may be another form of the same legend.

² vv. 31-44.

minable question.¹ If the author writes with our Gospels before him, he shows singular disregard of their authority, and readiness to follow independent traditions. Yet after all he can hardly differ more from them than they differ from each other ; and we may well content ourselves with taking the Gospel upon its merits, as one more token of the character of the Christian literature of the century, and the kind of apostolic narratives which were then contending for acceptance as authentic records of Jesus' ministry.²

¹ It is a little odd to find some biblical critics asserting with full assurance that "the use of our four Gospels" by the Gospel before us "is now established beyond all reasonable doubt." (*New World*, December, 1894, pp. 703, 704.) They forget that a similar problem, the relation of Justin to our four Gospels, after existing for seventeen centuries, and after full critical discussion for three generations, is to-day as hotly contested by scholars as ever.

² Note P.

CHAPTER III

TWO LEARNED DOCTORS

AFTER these prolonged antiquarian researches, somewhat fatiguing to the reader no doubt, it is refreshing to come at last upon two living personalities. We have returned once more to the times of Papias, and as it happens, to his own land of Asia Minor.

The first of the two is Justin, known to Christian history, because of his violent death, as Justin the Martyr. He tells us that he was born in Neapolis in Samaria, the Shechem of the Old Testament, familiar to modern travelers as Nablous.¹ Having philosophical tastes, he went about from school to school, and our first glimpse of him is at Ephesus in the colonnades of the gymnasium, where he is recognized by his professional garb, and accosted by a stranger with the words, "Hail, O Philosopher."² The stranger proves to be the Jew Trypho, against whom Justin, who has just become a convert

¹ Justin, *Apol.*, i. 1.

² *Dial. with Trypho*, 1; Euseb. iv. 18, 6.

to Christianity, defends his new faith. In due time his zeal for that faith made him its most famous champion before the pagan world, and led him even to address the emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, urging them as lovers of the truth to investigate for themselves the claims of Christianity.¹ Whether his appeal ever actually reached the hands of the emperors, or was noticed by them, is more than doubtful; but fortunately it has reached our hands, and is one of our most precious legacies from the past. It is from his two so-called "Apologies," and his "Dialogue with Trypho," that we get not only our knowledge of Justin himself, but also our best picture of the state of Christianity towards the middle of the second century.²

As this is our first opportunity to observe the mental processes by which in those times educated pagans became converts to Christianity, we turn to Justin's words with great curiosity. And not in vain: he meets us with the engaging frankness characteristic of earlier hours, and tells us all that we wish to know. After turning from Stoic to Peripatetic, he says, from

¹ *Apol.*, i. 1-3.

² These writings belong to about 150-160. On this point, see Note Q.

Peripatetic to Pythagorean, and finally from Pythagorean to Platonist, he met unexpectedly an ancient man, meek and venerable in bearing, who proved to him, by a few Socratic questions, that his whole preceding search for the truth was vain. "Long ago," said this stranger, "there existed a class of men more ancient than any of these who are regarded as philosophers, blessed men, righteous, and beloved of God, who spoke by the holy spirit, and predicted things to come, which are now happening. These are called Prophets. They alone discovered the truth and disclosed it to men, holding no man in reverence nor fearing any, nor desirous of glory, but speaking those things alone which they had heard and seen ; filled by the holy spirit." . . . "And at once a fire was kindled in my soul," says Justin, "and love of the Prophets seized me, and of those men who are friends of Christ. And revolving in my mind his words, I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable."¹ These Prophets are of course the Old Testament Prophets, and it is their testimony which wins Justin to the new philosophy and the new faith. "For with what reason," he adds in another place, "can we believe that a crucified man is the first-born

¹ *Trypho*, 2, 3, 7, 8.

of the unbegotten God, and is himself to hold judgment upon the whole human race, unless before he came and became man, we find predictions of his coming, and see these prophecies actually fulfilled?"¹

This is not quite what we had expected. We are so accustomed to find the evidence of Christianity in its own lofty precepts and the character of its founder, that it is hard to put ourselves in the place of one who accepts it solely because Moses or Isaiah, centuries before, had formally predicted it. Not that Justin failed to feel the moral force of the new faith. He bears full witness to this, and it may well be that it was this which first attracted his attention. "I could wish," he says, "that all might be of the same mind with myself, and no longer depart from the words of the Saviour; for they have in them something to inspire awe, and put to shame those who stray from the right path, and to those who practice them bring the sweetest peace."² But for the convincing proof of the claims of Christianity he has to look elsewhere. He believes that the babe born of Mary was the Christ, because Isaiah said: "Behold, a virgin shall

¹ *Apol.*, i. 53; also, ii. 12.

² *Trypho*, 8.

conceive, and bear a son." ¹ When Micah said, "But thou, Bethlehem, though thou be little . . . yet out of thee shall he come that is to be ruler of Israel," he clearly prophesied the place of the Messiah's birth.² When the Psalmist wrote, "They pierced my hands and my feet," he foretold the crucifixion.³ "And that which was narrated by Moses, and prophesied by the Patriarch Jacob, 'He washed his garments in wine, and his vesture in the blood of grapes,' signified that he would wash with his own blood those that believed in him."⁴ The words, "I gave my back to the smiters," announced Christ's scourging.⁵ "They shoot out the lip, they shake the head, they part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture," predicted the scoffings of the Jews, and the parting of the garments at the cross. The twelve Apostles were clearly foretold in the twelve bells on the robe of the high priest; the Christian rite of baptism received its sanction from the words of Isaiah, "Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings."

¹ *Apol.*, i. 33. Comp. Is. vii. 14.

² *Apol.*, i. 34. Comp. Mic. v. 2.

³ *Apol.*, i. 35. Comp. Ps. xxii. 16.

⁴ *Trypho*, 54. Comp. Gen. xlix. 11.

⁵ *Apol.*, i. 38. Comp. Is. i. 6.

Even the Eucharist was sacred because foretold in the fine flour of the Jewish sacrifice, and in Malachi's denunciation of those who profane the Lord's table.¹

To us this torturing of ancient texts seems a weary and futile task. It robs the old Scriptures of their freshness and grace, to force them into an unwilling service. It spoils good history and good poetry, to make poor prophecy. But the temper of those earlier days was not the temper of ours. The New Testament itself has some startling illustrations of this same practice.² There were other Christian Fathers beside Justin ready to declare that Christ could never have been known, not even in his miracles, but for a previous announcement by the Prophets.³ One convert from paganism makes no mention of Jesus at all in commending his new faith; resting all upon Old Testament prophecy.⁴ Justin is not alone, therefore, in discovering the supreme test of Christianity in the Jewish Scriptures.

For the rest, this first encounter between

¹ *Apol.*, i. 35, 61; *Trypho*, 41, 42. Comp. Ps. xxii. 7, 18; Ex. xxviii. 33; Is. i. 16; Mal. i. 10, 12; Lev. xiv. 10, 21.

² 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4; Gal. iii. 8; 1 Cor. x. 4.

³ Tertullian adv. Marc. iii. 3.

⁴ Theophilus ad Autolycum; also, Minucius Felix.

Christianity and the world's philosophy is a sufficiently friendly one. Justin finds no reason for ruling out all other wisdom because he has found the highest. Socrates, he claims, differed from Jesus in this: he had his share of the divine Word; Jesus *was* that Word. "The teachings of Plato are not different from those of Christ, only they are not altogether the same; and so with the others, Stoics, poets, and historians. For each one, having a share of the pregnant divine word, caught what was peculiar to himself, and spoke it."¹ Thus Justin saved for his new faith all that he most prized in the old, and declared, with a generous rhetorical sweep, "Whatever has been said well by any one belongs to us Christians."² Indeed, he quite convinced himself that Plato and his fellows borrowed all their doctrines from Moses.³ Meantime, however, with the best purpose in the world, he found it impossible to free himself from all his pagan notions at a stroke. Like so many others of his time, he still breathed a polytheistic atmosphere, after he supposed himself converted to monotheism. His devils, as evil spirits, play a formidable rôle, and are quite

¹ *Apol.*, i. 5, 6; ii. 13.

² ii. 13. ³ i. 44, 60.

as genuine gods as the Jupiters and Mercurys whom he renounced.¹

We are prepared from the above account to find the Jewish Scriptures fully represented on Justin's pages. In fact, few Old Testament writers of importance remain unmentioned, and the quotations, though given with the looseness characteristic of that period, show a greater familiarity with Hebrew literature than would be expected from a non-Jewish author. They are his only "Scriptures."² With the New Testament, on the contrary, he shows himself much less concerned; even though defending his faith against pagan and Jew. Take out two chapters from the "First Apology" and eight from the "Dialogue with Trypho," and we should learn very little from Justin about the Christian Scriptures.³ Nor does he think it worth while to attach any names to his citations, and never speaks of them as Scripture. At the same time his reverence for the teachings of Jesus is profound, as we have seen, and in defending the

¹ *Apol.*, i. 26; ii. 6, 8; 1 Cor. x. 20.

² For a discussion of Justin's use of the Old Testament, and the text which he probably followed, see Hilgenfeld's *Evangelien Justin's und Marcion's*, 46-62; Renan, *Hist.*, vi. 381.

³ The larger part of Justin's New Testament citations are found in *Apol.*, i. 15, 16, and *Trypho*, 100-107.

Christian mode of life, he urges upon the attention of the emperors, as his best illustration, the words of Christ himself. These extracts are quite worthy our attention. He introduces them with these words: "Lest we should seem to you to be playing the sophist, we think it well, before entering upon our treatise, to cite a few of the teachings of Christ himself. Brief and concise words were his; for he was no sophist, but his word was the power of God." Then come these passages: "Now concerning chastity, he spoke thus: Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery already in his heart before God. And, If thy right eye offend thee, cut it out; for it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of heaven with one eye, than with two to be cast into eternal fire. And, Whosoever marrieth her that is divorced from another man committeth adultery. And, There are some who have been made eunuchs of men, and there are some who have been born eunuchs, and there are some who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. But not all receive this." "And in regard to loving all, he taught as follows: If ye love them that love you, what new thing do ye? for even the fornicators do this. But I say unto you, pray for your ene-

mies, and love those that hate you, and bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you. But as to sharing with the needy, and doing nothing for glory, he said these things : Give to every one that asketh, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away. For if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what new thing do ye ? even the publicans do this. Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt and robbers break through ; but lay up for yourselves treasures in the heavens, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt. For what is a man profited if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ? or what shall he give in exchange for it ? Lay up treasures therefore in the heavens, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt. And, Be ye kind and merciful, as your Father also is kind and merciful, and maketh his sun to rise upon sinners and just men and wicked. Take no thought what ye eat or what ye shall put on ; are ye not better than the birds and the beasts ? And God feedeth them. Take no thought therefore what ye eat or what ye shall put on ; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. But seek ye the kingdom of heaven and all these things shall be added unto

you. For where the treasure is, there is also the mind of the man. And, Do not these things to be seen of men, otherwise ye have no reward from your Father who is in heaven. And concerning our being forbearing and ready to serve, what he said was this: To him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloak or coat, forbid not. And whosoever is angry is in danger of the fire. And every one that compelleth thee to go with him a mile, follow him two. And let your good works shine before men, that they seeing them may reverence your Father which is in heaven." . . . "Swear not at all; but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." . . . "The greatest commandment is, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve with all thy heart and with all thy strength; the Lord God that made thee." . . . "And many will say unto me, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drunk in thy name, and done mighty works? And then will I say unto them, Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity. Then shall there be wailing and gnashing of teeth, when the righteous shall shine as the sun, and the wicked are sent into everlasting fire. For many shall come in my name, clothed

outwardly in sheep's skins, but inwardly being ravening wolves. By their works ye shall know them. And every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire."¹

It will be seen from the above that we are not yet on familiar Gospel ground. Though these passages sound more like our New Testament than anything previously cited, yet the collocations are still quite as unexpected, and single phrases, when compared with our four Gospels, as inexact.² Moreover, as in previous cases, other writings wholly unknown to-day are used side by side with the rest as of equal authority. One of these is mentioned by name: the "Acts of Pilate," a document which seems to have been of importance then, but of which we now know nothing.³ But where are we to look for such Gospel passages as this? "Then when Jesus had gone to the river Jordan, as he stepped into the river, a fire was kindled in the Jordan; . . . so wrote the Apostles of this very Christ of ours." Or as this? "Again he said; I will give you power to trample under foot serpents and scorpions and

¹ *Apol.*, i. 14-16.

² See Note R.

³ *Apol.*, i. 35, 48. The Gospel of Nicodemus, called also the Acts of Pilate, belongs to a much later time. Comp. Harnack, *Chron.*, 603-612.

scolopendras, and all the might of the enemy." Or this? "For when among men, Christ worked as a carpenter, making ploughs and yokes, thus teaching the symbols of righteousness and an active life." And what a primitive condition of things it must have been when Jesus could be represented in the same passage as speaking through the Gospels and speaking through the Psalms: "When on earth . . . he answered one who called him Good Master, 'Why callest thou me good?' But when he says, 'I am a worm and no man; a reproach of men, and despised of the people,' he was prophesying things which are now coming to pass and happening to him."¹

Shall we not say, then, as we have been tempted to do in previous cases, that Justin must have been quoting from memory; introducing passages from our four Gospels, together with many from other sources, and not always remembering exactly where they belonged? It cannot be denied that this would be a very natural habit in days when written documents were so much rarer than now; indeed, his citations from the Old Testament seem often of this character, though the Jewish Scriptures unquestionably existed in written form, and

¹ *Trypho*, 88, 76; 88, 101; Ps. xxii. 6.

are cited generally by name.¹ No doubt, therefore, many of these Gospel quotations are also from memory. That they cannot all be so, however, appears from the fact that what at first seem quite arbitrary dislocations of familiar passages recur in the same order more than once, and are found also in other contemporary writers; indicating the existence of some collection of Gospel incidents and sayings at present quite unknown.²

A little light is thrown upon this puzzling problem by Justin's own language. Although

¹ That Justin often quotes the Old Testament *memoriter* seems to be generally conceded. In many cases, however, where he departs from the established text, he is apparently following some special version then in vogue. Hilgenfeld supposes such a text prepared for Christian uses. (*Evangeliën Justin's und Marcion's*, 46-62.)

² *Trypho*, 49, in its account of John the Baptist by the Jordan, varies from Matthew, Mark, and Luke; but repeats the same variation in chaps. 51 and 88. Compare, also, *Apol.*, i. 16, with *Trypho*, 76 (the passage, "eaten and drunk in thy name"). Also *Apol.*, i. 16, and *Trypho*, 35; *Trypho*, 17 and 112. In *Apol.*, i. 63, the passage, "No man knew the Father," etc., is given twice, both times varying from Matt. xi. 27 in the same way; and appears again with the same variation in *Trypho*, 100. This same variation is found also in Iren. i. 20, 3; iv. 6, 1; Clem., *Hom.*, xviii. 4; *Recog.*, ii. 47. In *Apol.*, i. 16, the passage, "Let your yea be yea," etc., differs from Matt. v. 37, but corresponds with Jas. v. 12, and also with Clem., *Hom.*, iii. 55; xix. 2. (See Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, i. 225, 255.)

he never quotes from a New Testament writer by name, yet in a few cases he introduces his citation with the words: "This is recorded in the 'Memoirs of the Apostles.'" In one case he says: "For the Apostles in the Memoirs which have come from them, which are called Gospels, have delivered unto us thus what was enjoined upon them." Another expression is, "In *the Gospel* it is written."¹

It is evident, therefore, that Justin has some document or documents before him which he calls indiscriminately Memoirs, Gospels, Gospel, or Teachings; as though these terms were of like import, or as if the title Gospel were just coming into use in Christian circles, as applied to the written word.² Whether it is one writing or several, or simply a general collection of whatever bore upon the life and words of Jesus,

¹ The terms Memoirs, Gospel, or Gospels, are found: *Apol.*, i. 66, 67; *Trypho*, 10, 100, 101, 103-107.

² The term Gospel was used at first for the message of Christianity as preached (Matt. iv. 23; xxiv. 14); also, perhaps, for any general narrative of Christ's life and words. (Mark i. 1.) In the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* it seems to refer to a written document of some kind (viii., xi., xv.); so, also, perhaps in Ignat. to Philadelphians (v. 1, 2; ix. 2), though it is not easy to tell whether this means the written or the spoken Gospel. These cases, with Justin's, would indicate that the word is needed by this time for written records of the life of Jesus.

there is nothing in his language to show ; but as he speaks later of its being read regularly at the Sunday gatherings, we may infer that it is some recognized collection, and that the Christian records are at last beginning to claim their place beside the older Scriptures.¹ It would solve many riddles, had Justin guessed what interest these citations would have for distant generations, and given us his documents in full. This was far from his thought, however, and we are left to bald conjecture, based on the few hints he has afforded us. That these documents can be our four Gospels in the form in which we have them seems altogether improbable ; not only because he rarely follows the text of the Gospels exactly, but because it is difficult to understand why, if he had such universally recognized works in his hands, he should never once have mentioned their names, nor claimed their authority. If it be urged that in addressing pagan emperors it was little to the purpose to mention names unknown to them, it must be remembered that the Jewish Prophets were equally unknown and unhonored by pagan emperors ; yet while Justin brings forward with much circumstance Moses, Isaiah, Micah, and David,² it never occurs to him to mention Mat-

¹ *Apol.*, i. 67.

² i. 32, 33, 34, 35.

thew, Mark, Luke, or John.¹ Nor does it occur to him, when introducing quite foreign and extraordinary material, unknown to these Evangelists, to inform us that he is quoting from uncanonical authorities.² If we were to judge from the character of the passages above given, which form the larger part of Justin's citations, we should surmise that Matthew's was more likely to be his Gospel than either of the others;³ unless, indeed, he is using a primitive collection of the precepts of Jesus which was afterwards fashioned into the Sermon on the Mount.⁴ These intermediate stages of literary growth are of the highest interest to the student of Christian history, and one feels little de-

¹ He mentions the Apostle John, it is true, but only as the author of the Revelation. As the passage contains the sole reference by Justin to a New Testament writer, it is worth giving in full: "There was with us a certain man whose name was John, one of the Apostles of Christ, who prophesied in a revelation granted to him, that those who believed in our Christ would live a thousand years in Jerusalem." (*Trypho*, 81.)

² *Trypho*, 76, 88, 101.

³ Out of forty-nine passages given by De Wette, thirty-eight bear a general resemblance to Matthew, seven to Luke, one possibly to Mark, and three to John. (*Introd. to New Testament*, § 66 a.)

⁴ It will be noticed that the greater part of the extracts given in the text belong to Matthew v.-viii.

sire to minimize or belittle their evidence. One case of this kind, showing how ideas or even phrases may be in the air, or on men's lips, before assuming their final historic form, is quite too curious to be omitted. After describing to his imperial readers the rite of Christian baptism, he illustrates the meaning of that rite by words from Christ and the prophet Isaiah. Those of Christ are given as follows: "Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated (born anew) in the same way in which we were regenerated. . . . For Christ also said; Except ye be regenerated, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Now that it is impossible for those once born to enter the wombs of those that bore them, is plain to all."¹ No one can read this without being reminded of the Nicodemus episode in the Fourth Gospel.² The turn of expression, as well as the connection of ideas, is altogether too peculiar to suppose a mere coincidence. At the same time, the variations of phrase are too marked to suppose one writer copying from the other. Least of all is it supposable that Justin would quote such a passage from John, the beloved disciple of the Lord, without acknowledging his authority, and should even introduce as his own

¹ *Apol.*, i. 61.

² John iii. 3, 4.

comment upon Christ's words what was really a portion of the language of the Apostle.¹ But such verbal resemblances, or apparent plagiarisms, are not so uncommon in literature that we need be astonished at them here, or waste our ingenuity in useless conjecture. The cases of Tennyson and Shelley, or of Shakespeare and Montaigne, or a hundred other historic instances, help us easily to understand how Justin and John also might draw unconsciously from each other's material, or both together employ a current phrase which had not yet been appropriated by any accepted Gospel.² However understood, this passage, with the others already given, even if leaving us in some perplexity, throws welcome light upon the hidden processes by which the crude materials of Gospel and Epistle³ were gradually shaping themselves into the Christian Scriptures.

¹ Schwegler calls attention to the resemblance of this passage to Matt. xviii. 3, and also Clem., *Homilies*, xi. 26, all of which agree in their deviations from John iii. 3, 4. As the Clementine *Homilies* certainly draw from the ancient Gospel according to Hebrews, Schwegler concludes that this Gospel is the common source of the passages in Matthew, John, Justin, and the Clementines. (*Nachap. Zeitalter*, i. 218.)

² See *Life of Tennyson* (1897), ii. 385; *Letters and Remains of Edward Fitzgerald*, i. 311; J. M. Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, London, 1897.

³ Justin makes no mention of the Apostle Paul, and shows

Let me close this account of Justin by quoting the following pleasant description of the Sunday observances of that period, the first that has come down to us. It shows that some apostolic writings were beginning at this time to share with the Jewish Prophets the honor of being publicly read in the churches, an honor granted also to letters of eminent pastors, sent from church to church.¹ "On the day called the day of the sun, there is a gathering in one place of all those who live in city or field, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read aloud so long as there is time. Then when the reader ceases, the president speaks, calling attention to these excellent things and exhorting to an imitation of them. Then we all rise together and offer prayers; and when the prayer is over, bread is brought and wine and water, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, to the

no familiarity whatever with his writings. Not a single passage can with any certainty be considered as even suggested by Paul's Epistles. This may be intentional, as Paul was long the object of suspicion among Jewish Christians; or it may mean that his Epistles had as yet only a local circulation.

¹ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 23, 11. According to this passage, letters from Clement and Soter, both bishops of Rome, were read on Sunday by the Corinthians at their public service.

best of his ability, and the people shout their assent, saying Amen ; and there is a distribution of the things for which thanks have been given, and each one participates in them ; and to those not present a portion is sent by the deacons.”¹

By far the most striking figure of this period is Marcion, an exact contemporary of both Justin and Papias, whom we find exciting great commotion in Rome about A. D. 150.² He was a native of Pontus on the Black Sea, a region even more remote from our associations with Christianity than either Hierapolis or Ephesus. As his opponents rally him as a “shipmaster,” this may have been his first occupation, though if so, it was soon abandoned, and Marcion gave himself to more serious pursuits.³ Christian missionaries had been in those parts in the first century,⁴ and Marcion’s father is said to have

¹ Justin, *Apol.*, i. 67. For a review of Justin’s Gospel, see Note S.

² Justin, *Apol.*, i. 26; Iren., *Her.*, iii. 3, 3; iii. 3, 4; iii. 4, 3; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 10; iv. 11, 2; v. 13, 3. According to these references, Marcion must have been in full activity in Rome about 150–155.

³ Tertull., *Præs.*, 30; Tertull. adv. Marc. v. 1; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, v. 13, 3. These designations of “mariner,” “shipmaster of Pontus,” may be simply a playful way of referring to the habits of the seaboard of Pontus.

⁴ The well-known letter of Pliny the Younger to Trajan was written from Amisus in Pontus, in 112. (*Epis.*, x. 96, 97. See Renan, *Hist.*, v. 476.)

been himself bishop of a church there. It is possible, therefore, that Marcion was born in the faith; but whether so or not, he regarded the new doctrines in a very different light from that in which they appeared to Justin, and approached them from a far more individual standpoint. According to one account, his father expelled him from the church for his discordant views.¹

No doubt Marcion was inclined from the first to independent notions of his own, and whether driven from the church or not, sought larger opportunities than Pontus could afford, and naturally turned his steps to the great centre which was drawing to itself so many of the restless spirits of the age. His first appearance in Rome, if we may trust a later historian, was sufficiently dramatic. Entering for the first time an assembly of Roman presbyters, he asked them abruptly: "Tell me, what does this mean? Neither do men put new wine into old bottles; else the bottles break, and the

¹ Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xlii. These assaults upon the character and early life of Marcion are to be taken with much allowance. It is even difficult, among the conflicting accounts, to tell whether he was born a Christian or not. One speaks, as above, of his father as a bishop; another of his having "lost the God whom he had found," as though he had come from another faith. (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* i. 1.)

wine runneth out, and the bottles perish; but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved.”¹ In those days many points which seem to us to have been settled from the beginning were still open; and this momentous question of the new wine in old bottles was evidently forcing itself on the church just now for an explicit answer. The new wine was Christianity; the old bottles were the Jewish Scriptures. This was by no means the first time that the inconsistency of a young faith wearing still the livery of a past belief had dawned on the Christian mind.² But the times had been unpropitious before, and the ancient Scriptures, as we have seen, had held their place, generation after generation, unchallenged. Up to this hour, in many quarters the Christian Church was hardly aware that it was not still a synagogue.³

This time-honored view Marcion takes the liberty to resent. To him Paul, half forgotten as he was, was a truer teacher than the older Apostles whom the church had followed so slav-

¹ Epiph., *Her.*, xlii. 2; Matt. ix. 17.

² Gal. ii. 16; iii. 13, 25; 2 Cor. iii. 6, 16; Heb. viii. 13.

³ Jas. i. 1; ii. 2. (“If there come into your *synagogue*.”) Rev. vii. 4-8; xxi. 12. According to Eusebius, the church at Jerusalem had “bishops of the circumcision” down to the time of Hadrian. (*Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 5, 3; iv. 6, 4.)

ishly. Paul, in fact, was the only true Apostle, setting himself at the outset once for all against Peter and his kind.¹ From him came the unadulterated Gospel, which all the old chronicles, claiming to be apostolic, had persistently corrupted. Had not Paul carried the Gospel to the Gentiles, had he not denounced circumcision and the Law as beggarly elements?² Who so worthy an interpreter of Christianity as Paul? That these views regarding Paul were not acceptable to all, we can readily conceive. "Wherefore, O shipmaster of Pontus," says one of Marcion's best haters, "if you take no stolen or contraband goods into your craft, if you have never smuggled your cargo or used false invoices, will you not be even more conscientious and faithful in divine affairs? Tell us then, under what head you took the Apostle Paul on board, who stamped or labeled him, who forwarded him to you, who embarked him; that you may boldly land him, and not find him claimed as property by the one who furnished him with all his apostolic apparatus."³ This is sharp language. But as the worthy Father who uses it has unwittingly preserved for us all that we have of the writings of Marcion, we must

¹ Gal. ii. 3, 4, 11-14; Tertull. adv. Marc. v. 3; i. 20.

² Gal. iv. 9.

³ Tertull. adv. Marc. v. 1.

forgive him his wrath. It is good jesting after all, and no doubt Marcion, like most reformers, went farther in his zeal than was necessary.

And indeed Marcion was not a man to stop halfway. Having once declared the Jewish Scriptures no genuine Scriptures, he pushed on and pronounced the Jewish Jehovah, with his sacrificial worship and cruel rites, no true God. The old dispensation was at best but a preliminary and baser phase of religious development, which Christianity came to displace. In these days the magic term "evolution" might have offered itself as a solution of the hard problem; but no such phrase was then at hand, and the pitfall of dualism lay on the edges of every such dispute. Marcion did not wholly avoid it.¹ To his thought, either Judaism was one with Christianity, or it was not. Certainly, then, it was not. It was a stern, unpitying code, which stood in sharpest contrast with the tender Gospel of Christ. Christianity was not its fulfillment, it was its abrogation. Judaism stood at best for justice simply, untempered by

¹ Iren., *Her.*, i. xxvii. 2; Tertull. adv. Marc. i.-v. We have to remember that Tertullian, whose five books against Marcion are our chief authority for the following account, and who wrote half a century later than Marcion himself, may be ascribing to the master some of the vagaries of his many followers.

mercy. Jehovah was the incarnation of austerity. Such deeds as the spoiling of the Egyptians, the slaughtering of the Amalekites, the human offerings on Jehovah's altar, were no tokens of a good and loving Deity. Is not a good tree known by its fruits? Nay, does not Jehovah of the Jews himself confess, "I am he that createth evil"?¹ Then the God whom Jesus reveals is not the God of the Old Testament, but another and higher. The one is at best the just God, the other the good. The one was the Creator of the finite universe, ruling over the world, and thinking himself the only God, the other the Supreme Deity, unknown at first, but finally revealed in Christ. The Law of Moses was for the people of this lower God, whose precepts had to be reversed when the true Messiah appeared.² The thought of Jehovah as "greater than all gods," "a great king above all gods,"³ had long been familiar to both Jewish and Christian minds. Jehovah was a god in Marcion's heavens in the sense in which all celestial beings were often in those days conceived as gods;⁴ as attendants upon

¹ Is. xlv. 7.

² Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 2, 6, 19, 27, 28; ii. 20, 28; iv. 29, 16, 25.

³ Ps. xcvi. 4; cxxxv. 5; xcv. 3.

⁴ 1 Cor. viii. 5; Eph. i. 21; iii. 10.

Deity, or emanations from the Supreme, to be superseded in due time by a more perfect incarnation. To Marcion Jesus was this fuller embodiment of the divine. To him Jesus was all in all.¹ To him the mission of Jesus was not the culmination of an old epoch, it was the opening and announcement of an epoch absolutely new. The fancied predictions of his coming on which the other Fathers wholly relied, Marcion scorned.² The Christ needed no such help. He was his own evidence. Here was a distinct issue between Marcion and his opponents. "If Christianity was to be believed," said they, "it needed to be built upon the foundation of prearrangement and prophecy." "Not so," replied Marcion, "for Christ was to prove himself at once the Son, the Sent, the Christ of God, by his very deeds and the evidence of his works."³ Christ was the perfect essence of the divine; God revealing himself; the Son of God in highest sense.⁴ But if Christ was in any true sense God, so consistent was Marcion, then he could not have

¹ Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 6, 8, 19.

² Certain critics of those days seem already to have discovered that the Hebrew word translated "virgin" in Is. vii. 14 means simply "young woman." Tertullian pronounces them "Jewish deceivers." (iii. 13.)

³ iii. 2, 3.

⁴ i. 11, 14; iii. 2, 8, 9; iv. 7.

been man. His human life could have been only apparently human; a phantom existence; his flesh no real flesh, his sufferings no real sufferings, his death no actual death.¹ With no fulminations of future councils or subtleties of later creeds before his eyes, Marcion shrunk from none of these conclusions. He was unpardonably logical.

It will be easily understood that to such a student of the Jewish and Christian revelations, the documents of the early church would be of great concern. Others had treated them as of subordinate worth, holding firmly to Law and Prophets;² to him the Christian Scriptures were of the utmost importance. Whatever he finds he subjects to careful scrutiny,³ claiming that the records were already corrupted, and that they needed restoration.⁴ He seems to have been the first to apply to the records of the early faith the tests of accuracy or genuineness. His enemies, when weary of invective, banter him as "so very punctilious an investigator."⁵ How searching his critical methods were does

¹ Tertull. adv. Marc. iii. 8-11; iv. 10. See p. 58.

² This seems to have been true of many Christian writers quite late in the century. (Melito, in Euseb. iv. 26, 12-14. Melito wrote about 170-180.)

³ Iren. i. 27, 2; iii. 12, 12; Tertull. adv. Marc. v. 19; iv. 4.

⁴ i. 20.

⁵ v. 17.

not appear ; but it is clear that he accepted little on trust, and exercised a degree of discrimination which in later days, when such questions of the text had been officially passed upon, was considered very reprehensible.¹ As Paul was Marcion's highest authority, and Paul's writings to his mind the most trustworthy record of the primitive faith, we are not surprised to come upon full references to this Apostle's Epistles, from which we are able to judge for the first time of the number then generally accepted. Marcion mentions ten, calling the Ephesians the "Epistle to the Laodiceans" (quite correctly, perhaps), and wholly omitting Timothy, Titus, and Hebrews.² The great apocalyptic vision, or Revelation, which delighted the souls of so many of his contemporaries, had no charm for Marcion, or is wholly

¹ Marcion is constantly accused of mutilating the Scripture text to serve his scandalous doctrines. As this charge was a common one in those days, however, it would seem to mean only that the Scripture text was not yet fixed, and was much at the mercy of each copyist. His enemies appear to have indulged in a little interpolation of their own in case of need. (iv. 25.) They confessed that if Marcion was really bent upon "expunging" what he did not like, he might have made much more thorough work of it. (iv. 43.)

² Tertull. adv. Marc. v. 2-21. According to Epiphanius, Marcion made a collection of the Epistles under the title of "Apostolicon." (*Hær.*, xlii. 10.)

unknown to him, as he passes it by unnoticed. The Book of Acts he treats in the same manner.¹

Applying the same critical temper to such Gospel narratives as were then in circulation, he finds but one that he can accept ; or at least mentions no other. This one, so far as we can judge from the description of it given by his opponents, bore a close resemblance to our Gospel of Luke, and must have been very nearly the same.² Yet the unlikeness is quite as marked as the likeness, and introduces us to another of the perplexing problems of which these early annals are so full. It had no name ; Marcion seems quite unaware that it had any association with Luke. It had none of the opening chapters of our Luke, relating to the birth and childhood of Jesus, or his temptation and connection with John the Baptist, and began abruptly with his entrance into Capernaum.³ It had nothing to say either of the agony at Gethsemane or the suffering on the

¹ Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 5 ; v. 2 ; *Præs.*, 2, 23.

² As Tertullian reviews the Gospel of Marcion passage by passage, in order to refute it, we are thus enabled to judge of its character. For a complete reconstruction of it, see Zahn, *Kanonsgesch.*, ii. 409-529 ; also, De Wette, *Introd. to New Test.*, § 71 b.

³ Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 7.

cross.¹ To his critics, writing a generation later, and assuming that Marcion had the four Gospels to choose from, all this seemed very suspicious. They charged him with mutilating the Gospel of Luke, expunging at will whatever conflicted with his peculiar notions of God and Christ. Marcion has come down in Christian history as one who "strove to destroy the character of those Gospels which had appeared under the names of Apostles or companions of Apostles, in order to secure for his own Gospel the credit which he took from them."²

It cannot be denied that some of the changes which he made, if changes they were, seemed to have a dogmatic purpose. If Christ had really the celestial character which Marcion assigned to him, his human birth or temptation or his human agonies could have had but little meaning. At the same time, it must be remembered that before the New Testament canon was established, many different texts must have been competing for acceptance, and must have been, as they certainly were, very freely handled. How else, indeed, could the Gospel of Matthew, supposing that the author

¹ Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 40, 41. For other changes or omissions, see De Wette's tables.

² iv. 3.

had Mark before him, have sprung out of Mark; or Luke in turn out of its two predecessors? Marcion was at worst a falsifier only in the sense in which Matthew and Luke can be called falsifiers. Everything indicates that he was a conscientious and scrupulous student of the early records, convinced that they were much corrupted, and anxious to purify them. Some later critics go so far as to assume that Marcion's Gospel was really older than Luke's, and may even have been the original from which Luke was drawn; its name being given it at a later day.¹ In any case, it must not be forgotten that if it already bore the name of Luke, Marcion had every inducement to call it so. As Luke was a companion of Paul, Marcion would have been only too glad to claim such authority for the Gospel he was using.

These are points which we must leave to the biblical critics to determine. Meantime, whatever their decision, the whole situation thus revealed is of singular interest. Here is the first serious and competent critic of ancient

¹ Baur, *Die Kan. Evangelien*, 397-427; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, i. 260-284. In certain passages many critics agree that Marcion has an older text than our Luke. Holtzmann, *Einl.*, 22, 23; Hilgenfeld, *Evang. Marcion's*, 469; Zeller, *Acts of the Apostles*, i. 100.

records whom we have met, and one whose polemic purpose, if he had such purpose, would have been distinctly served by citing apostolic authority for his doctrines, had he known them, who yet recognizes only one Gospel, and that without a special name.¹

Our notice of this hardy innovator is not complete until we add that, although he was denounced as a blasphemer, and finally cast out of the special church which he had joined, yet his doctrines obtained wide currency, and his church organization proved strong and effective.² In due course of time his reformatory movement, often exaggerated and compromised by his followers, was ruthlessly crushed, and the Christian Church took quite a different direction; but we see it here while fresh and young, convinced that its renunciation of Judaism and literal fidelity to Christ's maxims will prevail, and that the future of Christianity will be its own.

Glancing back now over the ground we have traversed, we find ample reason, do we not, to abide by the first impression gained from Papias.³ Though our survey of the period,

¹ Note T.

² Justin, *Apol.*, i. 26; Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 1, 2; iv. 5; *Pres.*, 30.

³ Pp. 12, 19.

from the scholar's point of view, has been but cursory and superficial, yet we have been able to take account of all writings¹ which appeared before the latter part of the second century, and can gain from them a trustworthy story, so far as it goes, of the condition of the Christian Scriptures at this early date. It would be a great mistake to suppose that, from this or any other retrospect possible to-day, we know all about the matter. These very authorities, when most critically studied, are but tantalizing witnesses, as the Christian Fathers, unfortunately, had other interests upon their minds than the preservation of ancient records; and we must content ourselves with such dim traces of earlier processes as diligent scholars, at this long range, can detect. The mere absence of mention of Gospels or Epistles cannot pass as positive proof that they did not at that time exist. They might have been quoted loosely, they might have existed in certain localities long before they were known in others, they might have existed for years in inchoate form and under other names, or no names at all, before assuming their final shape. The progress of investigation may be said to have shown less and less token of deliberate or fraudulent man-

¹ See Note U.

ufacture of ancient records, more and more evidence that the private or primitive documents out of which the New Testament sprang date back in some form or other close upon apostolic times. The stamp of high antiquity is discernible through all their changes. But those changes few now attempt to deny; nor in the nature of the case could they well be absent. The value of such a sketch as is here attempted, if value it have, lies not at all in weakening the foundations of a structure which, after all is said, must have its foundations in the distant past, but only in giving some notion of the early stages of its formation. The result may seem a vague one at best; yet let us take hold of whatever definite facts have revealed themselves.

Of three contemporary writers living half through the century, one in Asia Minor, two in Rome, one is acquainted with an elementary Mark, and a Hebrew collection of the Discourses of Jesus under Matthew's name; a second uses a Gospel closely resembling our Luke, but anonymous; a third cites certain apostolic Memoirs, which bear no name with which we are familiar, but which recall passages from Matthew, intermingled with several from Luke.¹ There is as yet no mention of either of

¹ Pp. 12, 14, 77, 92.

the Gospels by name, nor any apparent familiarity with their contents; no use of them as official Scriptures, and no knowledge of any Scriptures but the Old Testament, except as Marcion is endeavoring to supplant the Jewish Bible by his mysterious Gospel. At the same time we find several Gospels in vogue which no longer survive, and various writings classed as sacred which are now considered fabulous or apocryphal.¹ The name *Gospel*, hardly heard at first, is slowly coming into use, and certain works, including letters from living bishops, are publicly read on Sunday with the Old Testament Prophets.

Meantime the material of all our three earlier Gospels is already there, and has existed for some time, no doubt, in fluid and transient form, awaiting the necessity, we might almost say the motive, to single out the few from their many fellows, give them final shape, and attach to them official sanction.² Marcion's aggressive

¹ See pp. 9, 13 n, 43, 48, 56. Comp. Harnack, *Chron.*, 683; Zahn, *Kanongesch.*, ii. 622.

² For these early stages of growth through which our Gospels passed, beginning with simple collections of the *Sayings of Jesus*, see Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, ii. 33-71. Consult, also, for this whole subject, Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, ii. 38-66.

The recently discovered fragment entitled *Sayings of*

movement is enough in itself to show that this process must soon begin. Such a challenge could not remain long unnoticed, — unless the earthly mission of Jesus, with all that gave it human reality, was to pass as an ancient myth. But other agitations, hardly less significant than his, were disturbing the churches, and if there was any authoritative word to be spoken against them, some recognized Scripture must be at hand to appeal to.

our Lord (Λόγια Ἰησοῦ) may prove to throw some light upon this interesting point, as it seems to be a novel specimen of certain independent collections in circulation during the second century. It is a single leaf from some early collection of brief sayings of Jesus, and was found two years ago among the excavations of the ancient Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. The editors consider the papyrus itself as belonging probably to the third century, and the collection of sayings to about A. D. 140. The manuscript contains eight Logia (see Note B in Appendix), one or two almost undecipherable; only one of which corresponds exactly with any passage preserved in our Gospels. Among the experts who have already examined it, the original editors, Grenfell and Hunt, regard it as part of an independent collection of the Lord's sayings, originating early in the second century. Harnack, on the other hand, is quite positive that it is an excerpt from the Gospel to the Egyptians, a Gospel in use in Egypt before our Gospels were known there, and which Harnack assigns to the early part of the century. See *Sayings of Our Lord*, Grenfell and Hunt, London, 1897; *Die Jüngst Entdeckten Sprüche*, etc., A. Harnack, 1897; also, *Theol. Literatur-Zeitung*, August 21, 1897; Henrici.

Whatever may have been the cause or causes, certain church leaders begin at this time to interest themselves in theological controversies, the question of relative worth among Gospels and Epistles begins to be discussed, and the tests of age or apostolic authorship or general use begin to be applied to all documents.¹ No Council meets as yet to decide these knotty points, nor does any assembly of prelates claim power to settle them. The process is a secret one, to be detected by almost invisible traces. The first vague hint of what is happening comes from a half-forgotten writing of about 180, which is found to have spoken of the "Old Testament." But Old suggests New. Is the author using the word only in a general sense, we ask, or have we come at last upon the first token of Christian Scriptures, — of a veritable New Testament?² About the same time appears the first list of accepted books, as if the regulation of a Christian canon had actually been taken in hand, apparently in Rome. It is fragmentary, and speaks in anything but an authoritative voice; but it evidently embraced

¹ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, v. 24; Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 4, 5; Iren., *Hær.*, iii. 4, 1; v. 20, 1.

² Melito, Bishop of Sardis. See Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 26, 13. Comp. Harnack, *Hist. Dog.*, ii. 43.

our four Gospels, explaining how it was that a fourth happened to be written at all, and insisting that the four really agree in their doctrines notwithstanding their incongruities. It included also the Acts of all the Apostles; Paul's Epistles, except Hebrews; Jude; two Epistles of John, and the Revelation of John. Several books were evidently still under discussion and appear as if on the margin of the canon, half within and half without. The "Revelation of Peter," for instance, while admitted into this list, is not allowed to be read in certain churches; while the "Shepherd of Hermas" is set down as quite worthy to be read in the churches, but of too recent origin to be placed among inspired books.¹ Plainly, the ideas of what constitutes a Christian canon, or should determine admission to one, are still confused; but a beginning has fairly been made.

Another enterprise at this time is of interest, though of little positive result, — that of Tatian, who tried to reduce to a single form the various Gospel records which had survived. Whether

¹ The so-called Muratori Fragment; a manuscript found by Muratori in the Ambrosian Library at Milan two centuries ago. The manuscript belongs to the seventh or ninth century; the original document probably to the end of the second, as it speaks of Pius (about 140-155) as having been "recently" Bishop of Rome.

this was for practical convenience simply, or was a serious effort to bring order out of confusion, we cannot tell, as the work exists only in late and doubtful reconstructions ; but there is reason to think that he made special use of our four Gospels for his purpose, with perhaps others beside.¹ Fortunately, the several Gospels retained their individuality, and resisted all such endeavors to fuse them into one.

By the last quarter of the century the conflicting practices among the churches led to serious attempts to close the door against further accessions to the Gospel narratives, and establish uniformity in the use of the Christian Scriptures. There were various parties, it seems, under various names, — Montanist, Marcionite, Valentinian, and others, — some using Luke alone, some Matthew only, some claiming that John was heretical, some “boasting to possess more Gospels than there really are.”²

¹ This was the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, written probably about 175. See Note V.

For a learned and concise account of this and all the other writings mentioned in these chapters, see the English translation of Dr. Gustav Krüger's *Hist. of Early Christian Literature*, 1897 ; also, *Supernatural Religion*, vols. i. and ii., where this entire literature is given in great fullness and detail.

² Iren. iii. 11, 7, 9.

Against these Irenæus lays down a new and inviolable law, that *four*, and four only, is the sacred limit never to be overstepped. His reasons for this are peculiar; and though they cannot be called critical, they are certainly characteristic of the age. "It is not possible that the Gospels should be either more in number than they are, nor again fewer. For, since there are four zones of the world in which we live, and four prevailing winds,¹ so it is fitting that the church, which is scattered over the earth, the Gospel being its pillar and support and the very spirit of its life, should have four pillars, breathing out incorruption on every side and rekindling the life of men. Therefore it is clear why the Logos, the artificer of all things, sitting upon the cherubim and including all things, having manifested himself to men, has given us the Gospel fourfold, but included in one spirit." . . . "These things being so, they are vain and unlearned, and daring, too, who disregard the true form of the Gospel, and introduce either more than have been indicated or fewer." ²

By the end of the century, all the writings included in the present New Testament seem

¹ Literally, "catholic winds," "*τέσσαρα καθολικά πνεύματα*."

² Iren., *Hær.*, iii. 11, 8; iii. 11, 9.

to have been known by name, though by no means all accepted as equally valuable or trustworthy. The name New Testament, though occasionally in use, was nowhere in full vogue before A. D. 300; nor were the two Scriptures brought into one Bible till long after that.¹ As late as 325 the historian Eusebius attempts, with serious purpose, to define the genuine and accepted Scriptures, but betrays, in the very attempt, the variable and uncritical grounds still relied upon to determine these disputed points.²

So at last the Christian Church is provided with its Scriptures. It is not strange that the process was so slow, if slow it can fairly be called. With unformed literary habits to start with, and no motive whatever for gathering or preserving records of events so soon to culminate in the final destruction of the universe, the young church might well demand four or five generations to complete its message to the world. Nor can it be denied that our earlier Gospels, in their artless and fragmentary character, answer singularly to the above theory of their origin.³ To inveigh against these fea-

¹ See Jülicher, *Einleit. in das N. Test.*, 291-332.

² Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 3; iii. 25; vii. 25.

³ See Note W.

tures, or feign not to see them, or try to better or erase them, is little to the purpose. Far wiser is it, as we have seen, to accept them exactly as they are, and avail ourselves of the help which these ancient Fathers offer. It is an interesting story, which can hardly be improved upon ; a story which, if read in the right spirit, discloses plainly the peculiar religious problems they had in hand, and the entirely natural and unpremeditated methods which they followed in meeting them.

CHAPTER IV

THE MILLENNIAL REIGN

TURNING now from these scriptural investigations, let us glance for a moment at the state of religious thought at the period we are considering. What themes were uppermost in men's minds? we ask. What were bishops thinking about in those days, or what had they mainly at heart? We should be glad of a fuller answer to these questions than is vouchsafed us in the brief extracts from Papias which remain; yet the little which we find has its significance, and we welcome it with gratitude, however unexpected the picture it discloses.

Says the historian Eusebius, after giving several miraculous incidents narrated by Papias: "This same writer adds other matters too as having come to him from unwritten tradition, several parables and precepts of the Saviour, and some other things quite too mythical. Among other things he declares that after the resurrection of the dead, a thousand years would follow, during which Christ's kingdom would exist cor-

poreally upon this earth. Which ideas," adds Eusebius apologetically, "I think were assumptions of his own, misconceiving the apostolic narratives, and not comprehending certain things upon their pages which were spoken mystically. For he seems to have been a man of extremely small intelligence."¹ On other occasions he speaks of Papias with the greatest respect, calling him once "a man most learned in all matters, and well acquainted with the Scriptures;"² but doctrines had changed, it seems, in two hundred years, and the notion of an earthly kingdom had fallen under suspicion when Eusebius wrote. The point remains, however, that this bishop of the second century, whose name is honored throughout Christendom, looked forward confidently to an earthly reign of Christ in Jerusalem for one thousand years.

This is not our conception of the future, it must be confessed. Yet let us go back some eighteen centuries, place ourselves beside Papias for a moment, and see if the notion is as unaccountable on his part as at first sight ap-

¹ *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 39, 11-13.

² iii. 36, 2. This passage is missing in some manuscripts, and is regarded by many as an interpolation; but it is in any case an early estimate of the man, and therefore worth preserving. *Comp.*, also, ii. 15, 2.

pears. The Christian Church, we must remember, had hardly passed as yet out of the atmosphere of Jewish belief; out of the grasp of ideas, I mean, which viewed the present world as the scene of both earthly and heavenly functions, and the fit stage even for the awful events of the Day of Judgment. In the splendid symbolism of the Prophets things invisible and visible, imagination and reality, became one. "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion," says Joel, "sound an alarm in my holy mountain; . . . for the day of the Lord cometh, for it is nigh at hand." "And it shall come to pass . . . that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions." "So shall ye know that I am the Lord your God dwelling in Zion."¹ "Behold," says Isaiah, "the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate." "I will shake the heavens, and the earth shall remove out of her place, in the wrath of the Lord of hosts, and in the day of his fierce anger." Out of this terror and woe Israel alone shall be saved. "Israel shall be saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation: ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded world

¹ Joel ii. 1-3, 28; iii. 17.

without end." In those days "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them." "For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind." "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord."¹ When the nation returned from captivity, they came to a land where they were to reign forever, under a prince of the house of David. "And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, even they, and their children, and their children's children for ever: and my servant David shall be their prince for ever."²

As time went on, and troubles multiplied over Israel, this reign of Jehovah among his people took more definite form. It was to introduce a new æon into history; the "coming age," the "regeneration."³ Jewish thoughts fixed themselves on some great deliverer. A Messiah should appear, to reign upon the earth over all

¹ Is. xiii. 9, 13; xlv. 17; xi. 6; lxxv. 17, 25.

² Ezek. xxxvii. 25; Jer. xxiv. 6.

³ Matt. xii. 32; Mark iv. 19; Luke xvi. 8; 2 Tim. iv. 10.

the righteous.¹ This reign would be of vast length; four hundred years, said some, as the tribes wandered four hundred years in the wilderness; a thousand years, said others. "Is not one day with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day?"² During the century preceding the birth of Jesus this messianic reign of a thousand years had gained firm hold of the Jewish imagination, and the final judgment had been thrust into the far-off background, till that happy period had passed.³

¹ At first the Jews seem to have thought of God alone as ruler in the restored kingdom. The idea of a Messiah appears vaguely in Daniel vii. 13, 22, in a form which had much influence upon the Jewish imagination; but more definitely in the Sibylline Oracles of about the same period, and the Book of Enoch. (The Sibyllines and Enoch belong probably, in their Jewish form, to the first or second century before Christ; afterwards they were both much added to by Christian writers.) See Sibyll. iii. 49, 766, 767; Enoch 10, 11, 90-100; also, Psalms of Solomon xvii. 4, 5; 1 Macc. iv. 46; xiv. 41.

² 2 Ezra vii. 28. The idea of a thousand years can be traced back, more or less distinctly, to Ps. xc. 4. If Jehovah had taken six days (*i. e.*, six thousand years) for the creation and continuance of the existing universe, which was nearing its end, there must follow another thousand years of rest and happiness. (Epis. Barnabas xv.; Iren., *Hær.*, v. 23, 2; v. 28, 3.)

³ Weber, *System d. Altsynag. Paläs. Theologie*, 334, 372; Schürer, *Hist. of Jewish People in Time of Christ*, Div. II.

These Jewish prophecies, as we have seen, were the unquestioned authorities to which the earlier generations of Christians naturally turned for proof or confirmation of their faith. But even when Christian records appeared at last to take their place beside the ancient Scriptures, were there not intimations of the same kind there also? However skillfully modern exegesis may deal with the New Testament, must we not all confess to the presence of certain verses there which sadly bewilder us, and which we would gladly eliminate from the sacred text? How are we to understand these words: "Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom."¹ Or these: "Then came unto him the mother of Zebedee's children with her sons, worshipping him, and desiring a certain thing of him. And he said unto her, What wilt thou? She saith unto him, Grant that these my two sons may sit, the one on thy right hand, and the other on the left, in thy kingdom. And Jesus answered

vol. ii. 137, etc.; Lücke, *Offenbarung*, i. 40-342; Hausrath, *Time of Jesus*, i. 191-204; C. H. Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, 52-68, 372-414; J. H. Allen, *Early Christianity*, ch. i.; J. Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*.

¹ Matt. xvi. 28; Mark xiv. 62.

and said . . . To sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not mine to give, but *it shall be given* to them for whom it is prepared of my Father."¹ Or, again: "Then answered Peter and said unto him, Behold we have forsaken all, and followed thee; what shall we have therefore? And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."² Or how interpret what Jesus says to his disciples at the Last Supper: "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."³

Whatever impression we may receive from these words, or however easy it may be in these days to reduce them to spiritual terms, and make them still pass current, there can be no doubt how the immediate disciples of Jesus understood them. What a startling confession lies in these words: "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel."⁴ Still more incomprehensible the question put

¹ Matt. xx. 20-23.

² Matt. xix. 27, 28.

³ Luke xxii. 29, 30.

⁴ Luke xxiv. 21.

to the risen Lord: "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?"¹ Not even the death and final ascension of the Lord could quench this hope of the visible messianic kingdom. If he was taken up into heaven just when his disciples were awaiting his final triumph, it was only to return to the earth, and establish there his throne. Said Peter to the crowds which thronged around him in the Temple: "He shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you: whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began."² So far as the New Testament history carries us, the moment did not come when the Apostles of Jesus renounced this long-inherited expectation. "Therefore judge nothing before the time," says Paul, "until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of hearts."³ "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."⁴ "Behold, I show you a mystery; We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the

¹ Acts i. 6.

² Acts iii. 20, 21; Mark xvi. 19.

³ 1 Cor. iv. 5.

⁴ xi. 26.

twinkling of an eye, at the last trump : for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." ¹ "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God : and the dead in Christ shall rise first : then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air : and so shall we be ever with the Lord." ² In the latter days came a certain disenchantment, as the first expectation remained so long unfulfilled, but there was no surrender of the hope itself : "There shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming ? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation. . . . But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men. But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52.

² 1 Thess. iv. 15-17.

as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. . . . But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night ; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up. . . . Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth." ¹

How profoundly this dream had affected the early Christian imagination is shown by the strange speculations current for many generations over the resurrection of the body. Paul's Epistles, as we remember, hint at a controversy on this point which evidently had a more serious and personal import for his readers than it is easy for us to conceive. He had assured his followers from the first, as we have just seen, that those still living when the end came, though entering at once upon the new kingdom, would yet have no precedence or advantage over those who had died in the mean time.² Although already in their graves, these would yet be received with the rest. But in what bodies would they come? And in what form would the living themselves enter into the Messiah's realm? Would they retain their for-

¹ 2 Peter iii. 3-13.

² 1 Thess. iv. 15.

mer bodies, or be clothed with new? "But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die: and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain: but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body. . . . So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption. . . . It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body." ¹

The question of the spiritual body and its relation to the actual body long remained a grave one. For more than a century, we discover as we read the discussions of the future life, resurrection always means resurrection of the flesh. The controversy of that period was never with those who denied the future or questioned immortality; it was with those who doubted bodily resurrection. Apart from that condition, the future seems to have had no meaning to the Christian believer. "If you have fallen in with any who are called Christians," said Justin Martyr, a contemporary of Papias, "who yet say that there is no resur-

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 35-38, 42, 44.

rection of the dead, but that their souls are taken up into heaven immediately upon death, do not suppose that they are Christians.”¹ “If the Saviour proclaimed salvation to the soul alone, what new thing did he bring us, beyond what was taught by Pythagoras and Plato, and all their band?”² Irenæus, writing a generation later, is still greatly disturbed by the heretics who claim that the spirit rises to heaven at the moment of death. “Whatsoever all the heretics with the greatest solemnity may have asserted, they come to this at last; they blaspheme the Creator, and deny the salvation of the image of God, which the flesh certainly is.”³ “They deny the power of God,—who fix their thought upon the infirmity of the flesh; and forget his strength who raises it from the dead.”⁴ “For the heretics, despising the handiwork of God, and not allowing the salvation of their flesh, claim that immediately upon their death they shall pass beyond the heavens.”⁵ As with Christ, who appeared in bodily form after the resurrection, so will it be with the Christian. “If the Lord tarried until the third day in the lower parts of the earth,⁶ afterwards

¹ *Trypho*, 80.

² *De Resurrectione*, 10. Attributed to Justin.

³ Iren., *Har.*, iv. Preface, 4.

⁴ v. 3, 2.

⁵ v. 31, 1.

⁶ Eph. iv. 9.

rising in the flesh, — how must they not be put to confusion who declare that the ‘lower parts’ mean this earth of ours, but that only their inner man, leaving here the body, ascends into the supercelestial place.”¹

If the soul alone is saved, says Tertullian, a little later, man is only half saved. “He is saved only so far as the soul is concerned, but lost as to the flesh, if the flesh does not rise.”² Does not Paul say, “We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body”? But “it will be impossible to be judged for things done in the body, if there is no body.”³ No aspect of this question is too trivial or grotesque to be solemnly discussed, and all objections met. Tertullian quotes Paul triumphantly: “In this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven.” But how can we be clothed upon, he asks, unless there be a body to be clothed? “For being found naked, the flesh having been laid aside or worn out, the dead recover it again, so that being re clothed in flesh they may then be clothed upon in immortality; for one cannot be clothed upon, unless already clothed.”⁴ If the

¹ Iren., *Hær.*, v. 31, 2.

² Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 24.

³ 2 Cor. v. 10; Tertull. adv. Marc. v. 12.

⁴ 2 Cor. v. 2; Tertull., *Res. Car.*, 42.

unbeliever asked how it was possible to gather together again the scattered remains of the departed, once dissolved in death, the Christian apologist answered : " Although to men it may appear quite impossible that what has passed into the universe should be separable from it again, yet it is not possible for God to be ignorant either of the limbs themselves, or of the particles of which they consist, or whither each of the dissolved particles passes, or what element has received that which is dissolved and found other affinities." ¹ Philosophers might believe in the natural immortality of the soul ; but not so the Christian. Oddly enough, the advocates of transmigration were considered as coming nearer the true Christian doctrine than believers in spiritual immortality. They at least showed due respect to the body. " The Pythagoreans and Platonists affirm in a manner quite approaching our own that the soul returns into the body ; though not indeed into the same, nor always into human bodies ; Homer for instance being supposed to have passed into a peacock. . . . They at least knocked at the door of truth, although they entered not." ² It was held that

¹ Athenagoras, *Res.*, 2.

² Tertull., *Res. Car.*, I. Pulsata saltem, licet non adita veritate.

the soul can have no distinct individuality, except as attained through the body; can have neither happiness nor misery, reward nor punishment. "Man cannot be said to exist when the body is dissolved, and scattered abroad, even though the soul continue by itself; it is absolutely necessary that the end of man's being should be reached in a reconstitution of the two, body and soul."¹

I do not mean that this thought is put always in its grossest form. One writer of the period at least gives it as attractive a guise as such a doctrine is capable of: "Do you think that if anything is withdrawn from our feeble eyes, it perishes to God? Every body, whether dried up into dust, or dissolved into moisture, or compressed into ashes, or attenuated into smoke, is withdrawn from us, but it is reserved for God in the custody of the elements."² Indeed, long before this epoch, under Platonic influence no doubt, the great problem had been touched in far nobler mood, and in words which must have been familiar in some Christian circles. "For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things." "God created man to be immortal, and made him to

¹ Athenagoras, *Res.*, 25. ² Minucius Felix, *Octav.*, 34.

be an image of his own being." ¹ But this, as we see, was not the aspect of the theme which prevailed in the early church. In the next century Origen handles it with freer hand than any before ; yet even he recognizes no distinction between the resurrection of the dead and the resurrection of the body. Those who deny the one deny the other, ²

Such being the prevailing views, it is no longer strange that Papias should believe in a messianic reign upon earth. Indeed, he had grounds for his faith quite independent of the written Scriptures. The oral traditions, on which he so much relied, had something to tell him on this point also. Among them was a conversation of Jesus with his disciples, which he narrates in the Fourth Book of his Interpretations or Commentaries, as follows : "The presbyters who had seen John, the disciple of the Lord, declared that they had heard him tell how the Lord described these times, saying ; The days will come when vines shall grow, each one bearing ten thousand branches, and upon each branch ten thousand twigs, and upon each one of the twigs ten thousand shoots, and upon every shoot ten thousand bunches, and upon

¹ Wis. Sol. ix. 15 ; ii. 23. See Toy's *Judaism*, 386-388.

² *Prin.*, ii. 10, 1 and 2. See, also, Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iv. 26.

every bunch ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed shall yield twenty-five metres of wine. And when one of the saints takes hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, 'I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me.' So, too, the grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand ears, and every ear shall bear ten thousand grains, and every grain shall yield ten pounds of fine flour, clear and pure; and all the other fruit trees and seeds and herbs shall bear fruit in similar proportions; and all animals feeding on the fruits of the earth shall become peaceable and in accord one with the other, being subject to man in all subjection." This, according to Papias, was spoken by Jesus in the presence of the Twelve, of whom Judas alone proved skeptical. "But Judas the traitor would not believe, but asked how such fruitfulness could be created by the Lord; and the Lord said; They shall see who enter upon that kingdom." ¹

This extract would certainly not be worth quoting on its own account; nor, it must be confessed, does it increase our esteem for the

¹ Iren., *Her.*, v. 33, 3; v. 33, 4. Comp. Apocalypse of Baruch xxix. 5. There is an obvious resemblance between these passages, pointing apparently to some common source of written or more probably oral tradition.

venerable Fathers, one of whom could solemnly report such tales, as "credible to all believers," and the other repeat them with full approval. But whatever lets us into the hidden thoughts of this remote period is of distinct value; and nothing could help us better to understand the crude and conflicting beliefs out of which our Christian faith was born, or the heterogeneous traditions from which by slow processes our four Gospels had to be sifted, than this extraordinary prophecy, so long credited without dismay to Jesus himself.

A still higher warrant for his belief, probably well known to Papias,¹ was found in the widely circulated Revelation of St. John, now standing at the close of the New Testament. In this book, which seems like an echo of the ancient Jewish Prophets, and which, apart from its preface and occasional references to "the Lamb," seems as purely Jewish as those Prophets themselves, the earlier conception of the Messiah's coming has taken a more definite form. Let us glance at the main features of

¹ The Book of Revelation was unquestionably known at this time, as passages like *Τρυφήο*, 81, prove. We may naturally infer that Papias was familiar with it, though Eusebius does not mention the fact. He merely says, on his own account, that Revelation was probably written by the Presbyter John. (*Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 39, 6.)

this singular Apocalypse. The last days are drawing nigh, as the writer believes,¹ and their awful events are revealed to him in vision. When seal after seal has been broken, and woe has followed woe, and the seven angels have brought upon the earth their seven plagues, and Babylon, the Mother of all Abominations, has fallen, the Messiah comes forth through the opening skies, followed by the armies of heaven, to overthrow the kings of the earth, and exterminate all his foes ; the old serpent Satan is bound and cast into the bottomless pit ; thrones appear, judgment begins, and they who have borne witness to Jesus rise from their graves, to live and reign with Christ a thousand years.² The elect are few ; on these death hath no more power ; they are priests of God and Christ.³ This is the first resurrection. When the thousand years have passed, Satan is loosed, the enemies of Israel are gathered, like the sands of the sea, for a last assault upon the beloved city Jerusalem ; fire comes down from heaven to destroy them ; Satan is cast once for all into the lake of fire and brimstone, to be tormented day and night forever and ever. The second resurrection follows. A great white throne appears, and we behold the last Judgment.

¹ Rev. i. 3.² xix. 11-21 ; xx. 1-4.³ xx. 5, 6.

“And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them. . . . And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them.” “And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened . . . and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.” “And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.” “And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death.”¹ Death has been destroyed, and eternal life begins. A new heaven and a new earth take the place of the first heaven and the first earth. “And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God.” And

¹ Rev. xx. 7-15.

the city "had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, . . . and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. . . . And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it. . . . And the nations . . . shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honor into it. . . . In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him."¹ The splendid vision ends where it began: on earth and in Jerusalem.

This singular book has always seemed strangely out of place in a collection of Christian writings. A vision which concerns itself almost exclusively with Jerusalem, its temple, its elders, its altars, and its worshipers,² which reflects throughout the Jewish hatred of Rome and its rulers,³ which reserves its bitterest scorn for

¹ Rev. xxi.; xxii. 1-3. ² iii. 12; iv. 4; vi. 9; xi. 1-4.

³ xiii. 1, 14-18; xiv. 8; xvi. 2, 19; xvii. 1-5, 9-12; xviii. 2-19. Comp. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii. 214 n.

the "synagogues of Satan," those who, while claiming to be Jews, are not worthy of the name,¹ and which has constantly before its eyes Mount Zion and the Twelve Tribes of Israel,² would seem to bear its Jewish stamp upon its face. How singular the moment in Christian history when the church could claim such a writing as its own, without a thought of incongruity! One recent critic declares it unequivocally a Jewish prophecy, written during the horrors of the Roman siege, then translated and applied to Christian uses during the persecutions under Domitian.³ Other commentators, following this idea, point out not two, but three or four different authors, Jewish and Christian.⁴ And indeed there seems little reason to doubt that the perplexities which that confused narrative has caused have been largely owing to

¹ ii. 9; iii. 9. ² v. 5; vii. 4-8; xiv. 1; xv. 3; xxi. 12.

³ *Die Offenbarung Johannis, eine Jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung*, Eberh. Vischer, 1886. This writer points out that the Christian passages, connected chiefly with the worship of the Lamb, constitute only about one eighth of the book, and when removed leave it a much more consistent whole. The Christian interpolations are: i.-iii.; v. 6, 8-10, with single words in 12, 13; vi. 1, 16 (word "Lamb"); vii. 9-17; xi. 8; xii. 11, 17; xiii. 8-10; xiv. 1-5, 10, 12, 13; xv. 3; xvi. 15; xvii. 6, 14; xviii. 20; xix. 7, 9, 10, 13; xx. 4-6; xxi. 5-9, 14, 22, 23, 27; xxii. 1, 3, 6-21.

⁴ Pfeiderer, *Urchristenthum*, 350-356.

the fact that it is not a single writing, but a combination of several prophecies of different dates.¹ For our present purposes it matters little whether the Revelation was originally a Christian writing, or a Jewish prophecy accepted and remoulded by the Christian Church. The significant thing is that a book should exist at all which could be called with equal reason Jewish or Christian. In any case it shows how vague was once the dividing line between the two faiths. In any case it shows what vivid expectations of an earthly future were haunting Jewish and Christian minds alike; and what ample authority Papias had for his millennial dreams. Whatever its origin, there is no doubt of the profound influence which this Apocalypse exerted on the Christian belief of early generations; an influence which did not wholly cease till the year 1000 A. D. had come and gone.²

There is no more delicate problem than for a later generation to interpret to itself the beliefs of an earlier and more primitive age. Readers of the New Testament for eighteen centuries have rarely made even the attempt to do so;

¹ Note X.

² "Many documents of this epoch open thus: 'Appropinquante mundi termine.'" Alzog, *Manual of Christian History*, ii. 392 n.

and consequently that familiar volume, when read to-day, is apt to convey to us in many places almost any meaning but that which is naturally and simply its own. It is only by force, therefore, and at the peril of much confusion and possible misunderstanding, that we remind ourselves that Papias's conception of the temporal messiahship is in all essential points that of the New Testament itself. To us this is a purely materialistic idea. Yet when we bluntly pronounce it so, we must remember that if materialistic, it is the materialism of the Sermon on the Mount and the Prodigal Son, the Parable of the Talents and the Good Samaritan; for it is safe to say that there is nothing in the earlier Gospels which is inconsistent with this messianic future, or does not distinctly presuppose it. The Paradise of those Gospels,¹ the kingdom of heaven,² the eternal punishment or reward,³ the "end of the world,"⁴ hell,⁵ resurrection,⁶ day of judgment,⁷ eternal life,⁸

¹ Luke xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 4; Rev. ii. 7.

² Matt. iii. 2; iv. 17; xxiv. 30; Mark ix. 47; Luke xxi. 31; xiii. 28, 29.

³ Matt. xix. 29; xxv. 31-46. Comp. Enoch 105.

⁴ Matt. xiii. 39, 40; xxiv. 3.

⁵ Matt. v. 29, 30; Mark ix. 47; Luke xvi. 22-26.

⁶ Matt. xxii. 28, 30; Luke xiv. 14; xx. 33-36.

⁷ Mark vi. 11; Matt. xi. 22; xii. 36; 2 Pet. iii. 7.

⁸ Mark x. 17, 30; Luke xviii. 18-30.

redemption,¹ immortality,² are all parts of the same fundamental conception. So with all the lofty moral ideals of which the Gospels are so full, and for which we chiefly prize them; if these ideals seem to us to demand for their realization a larger field than this visible universe, the Christian of that age did not think so. In his view, the divine qualities of charity, faith, love, purity, forgiveness, self-consecration, were all attainable within the earthly kingdom which was to appear before that generation had passed, and which, at certain exalted moments, seemed already to have begun.³ Plainly, it was as true then as now that the spiritual mind sees all things spiritually. And we cannot doubt that this messianic framework, within which the religious thought of the age of necessity moved, took varied character and coloring according to the special mind which held it; shap-

¹ Luke xxi. 28-32.

² The word "immortality" does not occur in the Gospels. In the Epistles we find it twice; in the one case ascribed to God, as his exclusive attribute (1 Tim. vi. 16), in the other, promised to all of Christ's followers. (1 Cor. xv. 23, 53, 54.) In three other instances where the word appears in our translation, it should read "incorruption," or "incorruptible." (Rom. ii. 7; 1 Tim. i. 17; 2 Tim. i. 10.)

³ Luke xvii. 21. It is uncertain whether this should be translated "within you," or "among you."

ing itself for religious natures of the higher type in strict obedience to their imperious needs.¹

In any case, millenarism was the prevailing Christian belief of the age. Within the ranks of primitive Judaic Christianity, at least, barbaric to the world's eye,² untouched as yet by philosophic speculation, it was the universal faith. It was the orthodoxy of the century. None but heretics questioned it. So far from being alone in his faith, Papias represented in this respect all the accepted writers, all the Christian "Fathers," of his time. Justin Martyr, his contemporary, discusses this point with Trypho the Jew, after the following fashion: "'Tell me,' said Trypho, 'do you really claim that this place, Jerusalem, is to be rebuilt, and do you expect your people to come together in it, and be made happy with Christ and the Patriarchs and Prophets?'" . . . And I answered, I am not so worthless a fellow, O Trypho, as to say one thing and mean another. . . . Many, as I have told you, think otherwise. . . . But I, and all entirely right-minded Christians, know well that there is to be a resurrection of the flesh, and

¹ Note Y.

² Tatian, an Assyrian convert to Christianity (about 160), has no hesitation in speaking of the Scriptures as "barbaric writings," and of himself as a "disciple of the barbaric philosophy." (*Add. to Greeks*, 29, 42.)

that for a thousand years Jerusalem will be built up and adorned and enlarged ; as the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and the others declare."¹ Irenæus,² alarmed at the errors which were creeping into the church, wrote a work of five books "against *Heresies* ;" but for Papias and his doctrine he has only approving words. There was no heresy in that, but only the highest truth. Quoting the words of Jesus as given Matt. xxvi. 29, Irenæus says : "Here the Lord promised to drink of the fruit of the vine with his disciples ; thus indicating at the same time an earthly inheritance in which the new fruit of the vine is drunk, and his own fleshly resurrection. For it is the newly risen flesh alone that could receive the new cup. For he cannot possibly be thought of as drinking of the fruit of the vine with his disciples in supercelestial places ; nor again can they who drink it be conceived as without flesh ; as it is the property of flesh, not spirit, to drink of the vine."³ The "New Jerusalem" of the

¹ *Trypho*, 80. Justin rests his faith upon Is. lxx. 17, etc.; Ps. xc. 4; Rev. xx. 4, 5. See, also, *Trypho*, 51, 110, 139.

² A. D. 175.

³ *Hær.*, v. xxxiii. 1. Irenæus takes Luke xviii. 29, 30, and Matt. xix. 29, very literally. "These refer to the times of the Kingdom . . . in which they shall have no earthly occupation, but shall have a table prepared for them by God, which shall supply them with all possible dishes." (v. 33, 2.)

Apocalypse is the true and actual Jerusalem ; the Jerusalem of history having been but the image of the real. "Of this tabernacle Moses received the pattern on the Mount ; and nothing is allegorical here [in the New Jerusalem], but everything firm, true, and substantial, prepared by God, for the enjoyment of righteous men." ¹ According to the "Presbyters," whom Irenæus, as well as Papias, quotes so often, there are to be gradations of well-being in these messianic realms. "For since the men themselves are real, the transplanting must be real ; so that they shall not vanish away among things that are not, but progress among things that are. . . . There is a distinction therefore between those who produce a hundred-fold, who produce sixty-fold, and who produce thirty-fold : the first will be taken up into the heavens, the second will pass their time in Paradise, the last will inhabit the city. Therefore it is that the Lord said, 'In my Father's house are many mansions.' " ²

Tertullian ³ also writes a bitter "Prescription against Heretics ;" but finds no place among the heresies for the doctrine of the millennium. The end of the world, as he believes, is close

¹ *Har.*, v. 35, 2.

² v. 36, 2 ; John xiv. 2.

³ A. D. 145-220.

at hand, awaiting only the destruction of the Roman empire. "For we know that a mighty shock is impending over the entire universe, the end of the present world, threatening fearful woes, and retarded only by the continued existence of the Roman empire."¹ In view of this, the hope of the faithful lies in the coming of the Messiah's kingdom. "We avow that there is a kingdom promised us upon earth, this side of heaven, yet in another state of being; I mean after the resurrection for a thousand years, in the divinely built city of Jerusalem, let down from heaven. Indeed, this prophecy has been very lately fulfilled, during the expedition to the East. For it appears, even upon pagan testimony, that in Judæa for forty days, in the morning hours, a city hung down from the skies, disappearing with all its walls at the approach of day. This we affirm to be the city provided by God for receiving the saints on their resurrection, and refreshing them with an abundance of spiritual blessings, as a recompense for those things which, in this world, we have either despised or lost."² The worst heretics, in Tertullian's eyes, are those who claim for the soul an immediate immortality. "Let us now turn to those Scriptures

¹ *Apol.*, 32.

² Tertull. adv. Marc. iii. 24.

which refute those animalists, for I will not call them spiritualists,¹ who claim that the resurrection is here and now, or immediately upon the departure from this life." Are we not told that the Lord must first come in the clouds of heaven?² "But who has yet seen Jesus descending from heaven, in like manner as the Apostles saw him ascending?³ . . . Indeed, is there any one who has risen again — except the heretic?"⁴

It is not necessary to pursue these citations further. They represent, as I have said, the prevailing faith of the period. Origen⁵ seems to have been the first to oppose these "disciples of the letter," and insist upon a figurative interpretation of the New Jerusalem and its joys;⁶ and there were soon others to follow in his steps.⁷ But the old belief, deeply intrenched in

¹ "Animales istos, ne dixerim spiritales."

² Luke xxi. 27.

³ Acts i. 11.

⁴ *Res. Car.*, xxii. Tertullian turns this millennial belief to account in many ways. He finds in it the most unanswerable argument in the troublesome matter of second marriages. "Since these things are so, how will a woman find place for another husband, who holds her own even to futurity?" (*Monog.*, 10.)

⁵ A. D. 185-254.

⁶ *Prin.*, ii. 11, 2.

⁷ A Pannonian bishop, Victorinus, otherwise little known, writing about A. D. 300, ends a commentary on the Apoca-

the Scriptures themselves, and resenting the devices of the allegorists, held its own persistently. In western churches, and certain regions of the East, it remained unshaken through the third century.¹ In fact, it has never yet died out of the Christian Church. The expectation of a millennial reign, under some form, has shown strange power to survive; even its grossest features reappearing generation after generation. Even where it has been rejected as a doctrine, it has left its ineffaceable stamp; and it will hardly be claimed that the popular notion of the future to-day is essentially nobler or more "spiritual," except in name, than these primitive beliefs. The creeds of the church have disclaimed the Apocalyptic doctrine as a whole; but, for some occult reason, while silent upon the millennium, have retained the resurrection of the flesh, and the visible return of Christ in glory to judge the quick and dead. In these days we mention the millennium only with a smile; but the first two

lypse with the words: "Therefore they are not to be heard who assure themselves that there is to be an earthly reign of a thousand years." (*Comm. on the Apocalypse*, 22.) Eusebius's idea of such beliefs we have already seen. (P. 107.)

¹ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, vii. 24; Lactantius, *Div. Instit.*, vii. 14, 24. *Comp. Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., art. "Millennium," by Harnack.

Christian centuries are not to be explained without it ; nor was it surrendered by the infant church till unwelcome speculations from without came in to disturb its naive messianic dream.

CHAPTER V

THEOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

It is hardly to be supposed that beliefs such as have just been described would satisfy all minds. Papias himself, as will be remembered, alludes to certain "retailers of strange doctrines;"¹ thus suggesting other intellectual currents than any which we have yet traced. We have seen, too, that the "shipmaster of Pontus," as he was called,² was giving the churches something to think of; and we soon find that Marcion's mental restlessness was one instance only of a theological ferment which portended serious results.

Let us return for a moment to Marcion and the Scripture investigations which he was pursuing. In the course of those investigations he came upon writings more ancient, and to his mind far more trustworthy, than the floating Gospel narratives then chiefly in vogue. These were the Epistles of Paul. To Marcion, as we have already seen, Paul was the only true

¹ P. 6.

² P. 83.

Apostle. He was the "Apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father."¹ He had a Gospel of his own to preach, very different from that of the older Apostles, whom he had so sharply rebuked for their "dissimulation."² Paul was the real representative of Christ and his word.

We cannot be surprised that Marcion found a difference between the earlier Gospels and Paul's Epistles (supposing that his Gospels and Epistles corresponded with ours), for the conflicting views of Christ which these writings present strike every thoughtful reader to-day. In the Gospels, we have the homely details of the Master's daily life and speech, with hardly a hint of his celestial functions; in the Epistles, the celestial functions become all in all, with hardly a hint of the earthly and human career. In the Gospels, the Jewish life and ceremonial are frankly assumed; in the Epistles, they are as frankly dismissed, as "weak and beggarly elements," to which no Christian should "desire again to be in bondage."³

In a word, for we need not look far to explain this distinction, Paul was a scholar of the

¹ Gal. i. 1.

² Gal. ii. 13. See Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 20; iv. 3; v. 1.

³ Gal. iv. 9.

rabbis; and as such versed not only in the barren subtilties which we commonly associate with that name, but also in much wider investigations. It was a period of transcendental speculation, whose influence could hardly have failed to reach the Jewish schools of thought, even had the Jewish mind been less responsive than it is now to the spiritual or intellectual activities of the hour. In Alexandria, as we know, the contact of Greek and Jewish thought had produced one of the most far-reaching theological movements of the age;¹ and neither Palestine nor Tarsus was so far distant from Alexandria as to remain wholly uninfluenced by its religious life.² According to an early tradition, Paul had sat at the feet of Gamaliel, one of the most advanced scholars of his day;³ and, whether this be true or not, his

¹ There is no proof that Paul was directly influenced by Philo; but there is abundant evidence that the same general influences were at work both in Palestine and in Alexandria.

² Acts xviii. 24-28; xix. 1.

³ Acts xxii. 3. In his own writings Paul never mentions Gamaliel; nor is there any special evidence, so the critics think, of Gamaliel's influence upon his thought. (Hausrath, *Time of Apostles*, iii. 33, 34.) At the same time, due weight must be given the above passage from Acts, as a tradition. According to a rabbinical tradition, Gamaliel taught 500 scholars "Greek wisdom." (Gfrörer, *Urkrist.*, i. 2, 402-405.)

Epistles in themselves give abundant proof of his familiarity with the best rabbinical training then current. We need not go beyond that training, or the Jewish literature of the age, to find tokens of a widespread Hellenistic influence, which a mind like Paul's would be the last to have escaped.¹ He comes to his new faith with ideals of the Messiah and his reign quite unlike those of the Galilæan disciples. He, too, is looking for a speedy coming of the Lord,² but the Messiah of whom he dreams is a being of a far more exalted type. This was a theme evidently on which Jewish speculation had already occupied itself, and over which Paul himself must have pondered, long before he had heard of Jesus of Nazareth.

We have already spoken of the influence upon the Jewish imagination exerted by Daniel's vision of the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven. "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him."³ But other texts

¹ Note Z.

² 1 Cor. i. 7; x. 11; 1 Thess. iv. 17.

³ Dan. vii. 13-27. See, also, Enoch xlvi.-xlviii., lxi., xc.

there were which had also exercised the ingenuity of the age, and whose influence upon Paul's messianic ideals his Epistles plainly show.¹ Among these was the double narrative of the creation in Genesis, to which he attached so profound a significance.² The distinction between the first two chapters of Genesis, which was pointed out by a French critic³ about a century ago, and which became almost the starting-point of modern biblical criticism, had been discovered by Jewish scholars, it seems, seventeen centuries before, and had led, in Alexandria at least, to very mystic conclusions. According to the first chapter, "God created man in his own image." According to the second, "The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul."⁴ Here, then, according to the schools, are two creations; the first a heavenly man, of divine birth and divine nature; the second of the earth, earthy. The latter

¹ 1 Cor. x. 1-4; Gal. iii. 16.

² Gen. i., ii.

³ Astruc, *Conjectures sur les Mémoires Originaux*, etc. 1753.

⁴ Gen. i. 27; ii. 7. "Soul," according to the ancient division, was the life of the senses, or animal life, as distinct from body, on the one hand, and spirit, on the other. Comp.

1 Thess. v. 23.

was the real man, as he has already appeared on earth, the former the ideal man, as conceived in God's thought, and dwelling with him from all eternity.¹ This heavenly or ideal man has become identified in Paul's thought with the Messiah; and upon the above passage he bases his doctrine of the first and second Adam. "So it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, ~~earthly~~; the second man is the Lord from heaven."²

¹ Philo, in commenting upon Gen. ii. 7, says: "There are two species of men; one is the heavenly man, the other the earthly. The heavenly has no part whatever in the perishable or earthly creation, being born in the image of God; but the other was fashioned out of vagrant matter called earth. Therefore the heavenly man is not spoken of as created, but as formed in God's image; while the earthly was not begotten, but created." *Leg. Alleg.*, i. 12. See, also, *De Mundi Opif.*, 46; *Leg. Alleg.*, i. 16; i. 29. This image of God, or archetypal man, Philo elsewhere identifies with the Logos. (*Confus. Ling.*, 28.) Comp. Gfrörer, *Urchrist.*, i. 267; Haus-rath, *Time of Apostles*, iii. 22, 97; Pfeiderer, *Urchrist.*, 213.

² 1 Cor. xv. 45-47. In saying "it is written," it is uncertain whether Paul means to give the whole verse as a Scripture citation, or only the first clause; but the natural inference is that it is the whole, and that he is quoting from

These are conceptions, we must remember, for which Paul found the way prepared, even if the definite ideals were not given, in his earlier faith. The idealizing process had already begun. The Messiah has ceased in his thought to be the earthly ruler of an earthly kingdom, he has become a celestial being, present with God from the beginning, and awaiting the moment to enter upon his earthly mission. Paul is looking for a heavenly Messiah, and finds him in Jesus of Nazareth, who, having risen from the dead, has thus shown himself a being of spiritual nature; the very Lord from heaven. It is in this light that Paul attaches such supreme importance to the resurrection of Jesus. Indeed, he tells us little else of Jesus but this one fact. He assures us that if this be not true, then his preaching was vain, and all faith in Christ vain.¹ If it were not true, then even

some Scripture version then familiar in the schools, but no longer known. (Hausrath, *Time of Apostles*, iii. 22; Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, ii. 276.) It should be added that there is no other evidence than this passage affords that the distinction of the "first Adam" and "last Adam" was in vogue in Paul's time, as it is not found in rabbinical literature, it is claimed, till after the time of Christ. (See Professor G. F. Moore, on "Last Adam," in *Jour. of Biblical Literature*, 1897.)

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 14; also, Rom. i. 4. This belief is based partly on Old Testament prophecies. (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4.)

those who had died in the faith had perished.¹ In this escape from the grave lay the very proof and secret of his messiahship.

The belief in the resurrection of Jesus² was already current in the Christian community, it appears, when Paul entered it;³ but it was not on this testimony that he relied for his own acceptance of it. Others had had their visions of the risen one; he, too, had had his. He also had seen Christ.⁴ But to what does he allude here? Not of course to such bodily appearances of Jesus as are described in the earlier Gospels;⁵ for it is never supposed that Paul was in Jerusalem at that period, nor is it conceivable, had he witnessed these miraculous incidents, that he would have waited for the lesser

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 18.

² We have already seen the widely different meanings attached in those days to the terms "resurrection" and "immortality." (Pp. 116-123.) Resurrection meant simply the rising from the grave; it might be to pass into spiritual realms, it might be to enter the earthly kingdom of the Messiah. The belief in it in some form had long been held in certain Jewish schools. (Acts xxiii. 8; Josephus, *Antiq.*, xviii. 1, 3.)

³ 1 Cor. xv. 5, 6, 7.

⁴ 1 Cor. ix. 1; xv. 8. "I neither received [the gospel] of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Gal. i. 12.

⁵ Mark xvi. 9-18.

miracle at Damascus, to be converted. He must be referring to some special vision, at Damascus or elsewhere,¹ granted to him after becoming acquainted with the new faith, but before his final acceptance of it. What the nature of this vision was we can easily conjecture from the description of a similar experience, which he gives us himself with singular vividness. "I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such an one caught up to the third heaven.² And I knew such a man . . . how that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter."³ However obscure these psychological phenomena may be to us, to Paul, with whom they were not infrequent,⁴ they evidently

¹ The incident at Damascus is nowhere mentioned in the Epistles, and our only knowledge of it is from the contradictory accounts in Acts (ix. 3-9; xxii. 6-11; xxvi. 12-18). These accounts point to some oral tradition, based perhaps on Gal. i. 15-17.

² According to rabbinical theology there were seven heavens. Paul seems here to identify the third of these with Paradise. 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4. See Lücke, *Offenbarung*, i. 287, etc.

³ 2 Cor. xii. 1-4.

⁴ Acts xvi. 9, 10; xviii. 9; xxii. 17-21; xxiii. 11; xxvii. 23, 24.

carried great meaning. They were his revelations. They supplied him with the intuitions which were so much more convincing than any human testimony. In the present case, this apparition of the risen Jesus, objectively real to him, was plainly the very proof for which he was waiting. Not the living man, in flesh and bones, to be touched and handled, and to partake of physical nourishment,¹ but the spiritual and already glorified Jesus, coming down from the right hand of God. Jesus therefore had not really died; he had triumphed over death, and had now descended from heavenly regions, to reveal himself in spiritual form to Paul. In thus overcoming death, and establishing the spiritual kingdom, he made the spiritual life possible for all who believed in him. "Christ

¹ Luke xxiv. 36-43. As these Gospel narratives are later than the Epistles, we may fairly assume that Paul's statements of a purely visionary appearance are the oldest form of the tradition of Christ's resurrection; the other accounts marking the gradual legendary accretions. As Paul uses the same language in describing the appearance of Christ to Peter, James, and the other disciples, as in speaking of his own vision, he no doubt thought of them all as spiritual manifestations. (1 Cor. xv. 5, 6, 7, 8.) In the case of the multitudes (xv. 6), the vision of one, in moments of great excitement, might easily be accepted as the vision of all.

For this subject, see Toy's *Judaism*, 274, 394; C. C. Everett's *Gospel of Paul*, 211-213, 217, 227.

the firstfruits ; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming." ¹ With his coming, the new life would begin. All his followers, whether then living, or already dead, would be clothed in incorruptible bodies, and enter upon immortal life. "Behold, I show you a mystery ; We shall not all sleep, but we shall be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump : for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." ²

In view of these convictions, drawn from his previous faith, we cannot be surprised that Paul's language concerning his Master takes from the beginning so exalted a form. He describes him as sent forth from God "in the fulness of time." He calls him the "Lord of glory." He declares that through him we and all things exist. He holds him to be the very Son of God, sent to the earth for a season, "in the likeness of sinful flesh." ³ As Paul pursues his mission, we cannot but feel that this lofty conception grows more and more celestial, less and less human. Indeed, if his shorter Epistles,

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 23.

² xv. 51-53.

³ Gal. iv. 4 ; 1 Cor. ii. 8 ; viii. 6 ; Rom. viii. 3.

admitted by Marcion into his collection, but questioned by later scholars, are really his, the heavenly regions, with their hierarchy of Angels, Principalities, and Powers, became to Paul the familiar scene of the entire Gospel transaction.¹ In these heavenly places, as he believed, Christ was throned, "Far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come." Christ was the supreme agent in creation: "For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, . . . all things were created by him, and for him." Paul goes so far as to say, "In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."²

These are sublime ideals. If the human Jesus still holds his own in this celestial companionship, a great step has been taken towards that union of the human and the divine, for which the human soul so passionately sighs.

It is the supreme test of idealism, that while it lets the imagination range at will in highest realms, it is yet able to keep the feet firmly planted on solid earth. It is not strange that Paul could not meet this test. Too much was at stake. What Christianity meant to him, if

¹ Note AA.

² Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16; ii. 9.

he was to accept it at all, was the advent of a heavenly being on earth. If Christ was not such a being, then his faith was vain. The theological refinements of centuries have accustomed men to feel that such a being could be human and superhuman in one. To Paul, standing at the threshold of these discussions, no such illusion was possible. If Jesus was really the superterrestrial visitant which his resurrection declared, then his human life in Galilee could have been only a passing incident, of little meaning. It was but the visible token, the sign-manual, of a divine event. To blend that earthly life with the spiritual functions of the Son of God became to Paul more and more impossible, and he ceased at last to attempt it. The time came when he could say : "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more."¹

How else can we explain the fact that Paul's writings contain so few allusions of any kind to the life or teachings of Jesus? That life had hardly ended when Paul came upon the scene; its memories were still fresh; the companions of Jesus were at hand to tell him, if he chose to ask, all the personal qualities that had exerted such mighty power over men. But he did not

¹ 2 Cor. v. 16.

choose to ask. He prides himself upon not asking. He takes special pains to say to the Galatians: "When it pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me, . . . I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me; but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the disciples saw I none, save James the Lord's brother."¹ In other words, their memories of the Lord's daily life and speech, or of his familiar habits and tones, had no interest for Paul. Even the precepts of the Master had no place in Paul's teachings. His letters to his followers would have gained tenfold moral power, if reinforced by lofty maxims from the Master's lips. So, at least, it seems to us, to whom the earthly life of Jesus is the great spiritual event of the ages. But no: a few allusions to his death and resurrection, two or three scanty references to the words of Christ, whether told him by others, or received by special vision, we cannot tell,² and that is all. No parables, no beatitudes, no exhortations, no

¹ Gal. i. 15-19.

² 1 Cor. vii. 10, 12, 25; ix. 14; xi. 23, 24; xv. 3; 1 Thess. iv. 15.

discussions with Pharisee or publican, no self-consecration to a sacred career, no heroic self-sacrifice. Those earthly incidents, we must suppose, were for the hour only, and for those who witnessed them; the real Jesus, all the time, was the celestial visitant.¹ The grand meaning of that life in this view was not that the human became divine, but that divinity dwelt for a moment in the ranks of humanity. Except for the Christ himself, and those that "are Christ's," the human and divine remained as distinct as ever. Had this involved the Apostle Paul alone, it would be simply one chapter the more of the world's religious philosophy, to be easily closed, and forgotten. Where it affects the struggles of many generations to gain a firmer hold upon divine realities, it becomes a more serious affair.²

¹ Even where Paul brings Jesus forward as an example, it is the heavenly Jesus, not the human. (2 Cor. viii. 9; Phil. ii. 5-8.)

² Difficulties over this problem began early. Tertullian complains that the simple-minded, who are always in the majority, charged their leaders with preaching two Gods, or three, like the pagans; being too simple-minded to understand that "the trinity grows out of the unity." (*Prax.*, 3.) Origen, who seems to have been the first to fairly face the question of the union of God and man in Jesus, virtually surrenders the task. He thinks human language quite incompetent to explain it, and doubts if even the holy Apostles

One disciple, at least, was not slow in following in the steps of the great Apostle. Paul's exalted conception of Christ had seized upon Marcion's imagination. It had been forgotten by the churches, he declared, which had clung too fondly to the terrestrial promises of Judaism and its terrestrial scenery. Both the Christian Scriptures and the Christian faith needed a thorough purification. According to Marcion, pursuing Paul's thought quite beyond Paul himself, Christianity owed nothing whatever to Judaism ; its coming was an absolutely new epoch in the career of humanity ; not a higher unfolding of a previous revelation, but the very beginning of man's higher life. It was the first entrance of the divine into the world. In the presence of this new life, and the heavenly future which it involved, all speculation upon the messianic kingdom and the end of the world lost its interest. An endless future in celestial companionship disclosed itself. Till then God had been wholly unknown ; he revealed himself first in Christ. All previous history compared with this was as earthly to heavenly. The Old Testament was not false ; it was the story of a primordial race under an

understood it. Possibly, indeed, "it was a mystery beyond the grasp of the entire celestial host." (*Prin.*, ii. 6, 2.)

inferior and primordial God. Marcion shrunk from none of the logical consequences of his position. "A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit," he quoted; "neither a good tree corrupt fruit."¹ The cruelties and idolatries of Israel could have come only from an evil deity. Jehovah was a God indeed, the Creator of the world, as the Jewish Scriptures claim; but it was this lower world which he created; above which was a spiritual world, where dwells the supreme God.²

For the theologian of to-day, to have two Gods to account for would be embarrassing. Not so to Marcion; hardly so, indeed, to any of the Christian divines of that early time, accustomed as they were to speak of the "prince of the world," or "prince of the power of the air," with his legions of evil angels or demi-gods.³ Marcion was fond of quoting from the

¹ Luke vi. 43.

² Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 2, etc.; Iren., *Hær.*, i. 27, 2; Hipp. vii. 29, 30; x. 19; Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 3; iii. 4; v. 1.

Marcion's speculative tendencies have been generally ascribed to the influences of Cerdo, a Syrian mystic whom he met in Rome. (Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 2; Iren., *Hær.*, i. 27, 2; iii. 4, 3; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 10; iv. 11, 2.) As we know hardly anything about Cerdo, however, except that Marcion was his follower, the disciple is much more important to us, in any case, than the master.

³ John xiv. 30; Eph. ii. 2; iii. 10; i. 21; vi. 12.

Psalms : "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty ; he judgeth among the gods." "I have said, Ye are gods."¹ These were phrases quite as familiar, of course, to the Christian as to the Jew, and must have meant something to them both. In fact, polytheism died slowly, even under the assaults of Judaism or Christianity ; losing its name in the process, while bequeathing to them its spirit. For Marcion, these two Gods were the keystone of his system. The true God, the only one worthy of the name, was pure spirit, the embodiment of goodness and love, dwelling in the highest heavens, calm and undisturbed.² The other, Demiurge or Cosmocrator, as you choose, whom he identified with the Jehovah of the Jews,³ was the lover of war, and the embodiment of sternness and cruelty.⁴ His supreme characteristic was justice. He is the God who "creates evil,"⁵ who spoiled the Egyptians, who required "an eye for an eye,"⁶ who made Saul a king, and then

¹ Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6 ; Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 7.

² i. 2 ; i. 6 ; *Præs.*, vii.

³ Hipp. vii. 30 ; Iren. i. 27, 2. Comp. Heb. xi. 10 ; Eph. vi. 12.

⁴ Iren. i. 27, 2 ; Tertull. i. 6. Comp. *Life of Tennyson*, i. 314.

⁵ Is. xlv. 7 ; Tertull. ii. 20.

⁶ Ex. xxi. 24 ; Tertull. ii. 18.

repented of it,¹ who had to ask Adam, "Where art thou?" not knowing where he had hid himself,² and came down to Sodom and Gomorrah, to "see whether they had done altogether according to the cry of it which had come unto him," and who rejected Moab and Ammon for all time, for not offering hospitality to the Israelite invaders.³ Jehovah, according to Marcion, sincerely thought himself the one only God, being unaware of the higher Being in whose place he was figuring.⁴ The Prophets, ignorant also of the ineffable Father, were inspired by the Demiurge to predict a false Messiah, who came indeed, but came only to insure to scattered Israel the recovery of their land, and the repose of Abraham's bosom; while the true Messiah came to offer liberation to the human race.⁵

The two worlds, according to this daring innovator, were as distinct as the two Gods. The one was a spiritual realm, the other purely earthly, having to do with matter alone, in

¹ 1 Sam. xv. 11; Tertull. ii. 24.

² Tertull. ii. 25.

³ Deut. xxiii. 3; Tertull. iv. 24.

⁴ Tertull. i. 11.

⁵ Justin, *Apol.*, i. 58; Iren. iv. 34, 1-5; Epiph., *Her.*, 42, 43; Tertull. iii. 4, 21-24. See, also, Iren. i. 27, 3; Tertull. i. 27, 28.

which inheres all evil;¹ a dualistic notion by no means peculiar to Marcion, but standing ready then as now as the easiest explanation of the existence of evil and sin.² Between these two worlds no communication was possible, as the material can have no touch with the spiritual, nor even consciousness of it.³ Only by introducing into the lower world the quality of spirit could the alliance between the two be established. This was accomplished by the Son of God, who appeared in Capernaum unannounced and without human birth, who took the name of Christ that he might be the more readily recognized as the expected Messiah,⁴ who assumed the form of Jesus of Nazareth, who put on the "appearance of sinful flesh," and led a spirit-life on earth,⁵ to awaken there the latent sense of the divine.⁶ Many perplex-

¹ Tertull. i. 15; v. 19; Hipp. x. 19.

² Hippolytus (assuming that the *Philosophumena* discovered in 1842 is his) traces Marcion's dualism wholly to Empedocles (*Philos.*, vii. 29, 30), though it might as well have come from Persian and other sources at that time. Indeed, he needed hardly to go farther than his master Paul. (Rom. vii. 5-23, 25; Gal. v. 17.) It is doubtful if Marcion speculated much on this or other abstract points.

³ Comp. 1 Cor. ii. 14; Tertull. i. 13.

⁴ Tertull. iii. 15, 19; iv. 7, 19.

⁵ i. 19; iii. 8, 11, 15; iv. 10.

⁶ Iren. i. 27, 3; Tertull. i. 9.

ing problems which have disturbed the Christian world from the beginning disappear in this hardy process ; not least, that of a suffering God. As the birth and childhood of Christ were apparent rather than real, so also his death. It was the futile vengeance of the Demiurge against one who came to supplant him. The agonies of the crucified God were apparent agonies, the death a phantom death.¹ The flesh, whether of Christ or of his followers, has no place in the resurrection. The resurrection is a purely spiritual event. It is the escape of the spirit to higher realms ; its passage, through sphere after sphere, to its heavenly home.²

These strange doctrines were by no means mere matters of speculation, or of Scripture criticism alone. They meant with Marcion the purging of the Scriptures of their Jewish corruptions, and the purification of the church of all its false dogmas. He undertook this reform unflinchingly. He undertook a moral reform, also, with quite as unflinching a hand ; for he held that the precepts of the Gospel had been neglected, and demanded a far more rigid enforcement. If matter is evil, and the flesh sinful,³ then all fleshly pursuits are sinful. He

¹ Tertull. iii. 8 ; iv. 42 ; v. 6.

² iii. 3, 4, 8-10, 18, 24 ; Epiph., *Hær.*, xlii. 4.

³ Rom. viii. 3.

brought into sharp contrast the Mosaic laws of divorce and those of Jesus, and included marriage itself among the evils to be reformed. No marriage was allowed in his churches, nor were married persons admitted to baptism unless first divorced.¹ He taught abstinence from meats, as well as from the pleasures of the world.² His continence, and the abstemiousness of his disciples, were among the severest charges which his opponents had to bring against him.³ None led a stricter life in those days than the followers of Marcion, nor were any more ready, when the hours of persecution came, to face the horrors of martyrdom.⁴

However abstract and impracticable these notions may seem to us, in those days they had power to arouse the highest enthusiasm, and

¹ Tertull. *adv. Marc.* i. 29; iv. 11, 17, 34; v. 7; Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 4.

² Tertull. i. 28; Hipp. vii. 30.

³ Tertull., *Præs.*, 30; *Adv. Marc.* i. 14. The church of that day seems to have found this ascetic tendency inconvenient. It did not wish the Gospel precepts to be taken too seriously. These offenders were dubbed "Encratites," or "Abstinentes;" not a very opprobrious epithet, one would think, yet we find all the church historians talking as solemnly of Encratites as though they were thieves or murderers. The Encratites figure conspicuously among the heretical sects. (Iren. i. 28, 1; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 29, 2, 3.)

⁴ Tertull. i. 27; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, v. 16, 21; iv. 15, 46.

for a time it seemed as if they might prevail, and the Christian church be founded on dogmas even more transcendental than those of Paul. The movement spread rapidly. "As wasps build their combs," says Tertullian, Marcion's most unforgiving foe, "so do these Marcionites build their churches."¹ In point of fact, the Marcionite church became a clearly defined and compact organization, and held its own among Christian churches, with its bishops and presbyters, quite into the fifth century. A bishop of the fifth century claims to have converted more than ten thousand Marcionites in Syria.² A historian of the same period writes bitterly: "This heresy is not only found to-day in Rome and Italy, it has overrun Egypt and Palestine also, Arabia and Syria, Cyprus and the Thebaid, even Persia, and other regions far and wide."³

It is worth noting here that it was the uncompromising asceticism of the Marcionites quite as much as their theological dogmas which brought them into disrepute. The early Chris-

¹ Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iv. 5.

² Epiph., *Har.*, 42. See Zahn, *Kanons-gesch.*, i. 595, 607; Epiph. *xlii.* 1, 3; Theodoret to Leo, and to Monks of Constantinople, *Epis.*, 113, 145.

³ Epiph., *Har.*, *xlii.* 2. Note BB.

tian conscience seems to have encountered great difficulty in adjusting these nice points of the new ethics, and often found itself in strange predicaments; not knowing at first where to draw the lines between the customs of the world and the requirements of the Christian Scriptures. Tertullian himself, who denounces Marcion to-day for forbidding marriage,¹ is found to-morrow denouncing another theologian quite as severely for marrying not once only, but twice; or, as this writer gracefully puts it, "marrying persistently."²

Another interesting personage, whose independent thought brought him into disrepute about this same time, was Basilides.³ Judging from the fragmentary accounts which the church has handed down to us, we infer that he appeared first in Syria, and went from there to Egypt, which was apparently the scene of his best teaching or preaching, and the centre from which emanated the many schools which bore

¹ Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 29.

² Tertull. adv. Hermogenem, i. "Nubit assidue." Is not this a delightful way of characterizing a man who (the chances are), after losing one wife, chose to marry another?

³ Judging from Justin, *Apol.*, i. 26, *Trypho*, 35, compared with Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 7, 3, and Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, vii. 17, Basilides's active period must have been between 133 and 160. Comp. Harnack, *Chron.*, i. 290.

his name.¹ Though we have to content ourselves with little knowledge of the man, yet the character of his doctrines appears plainly enough through the hostile criticisms which they evoked. Basilides was no organizer like Marcion, and was less interested in missionary or practical concerns than in getting at the interior meaning of Christianity and its significance for the world. He does not seem to have shared Marcion's aversion to Judaism, yet at the same time occupied himself little with this point, being influenced more by the mystic tendencies current then in Alexandria, than in questions of Scripture criticism. Christianity presented itself to his mind less as a historic event than as a spiritual process, releasing mankind from its thralldom by revealing the soul's innate divineness.² The eastern mind welcomed allegory and symbolism, and few have ever gone farther into the realm of abstractions than Basilides. The Jewish Jehovah was to him a very anthropomorphic Deity. God was above all personification; he was absolute Being. He could not even be defined. He was above every name that is named.³ We can assert only his

¹ Hipp. vii. 27; Epiph., *Her.*, xxiii. 1; xxiv. 1; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 7, 3.

² Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iv. 26.

³ Hipp. vii. 20.

existence. Indeed, hardly that. To other philosophers he may be existence pure and simple;¹ to Basilides he is non-existence. So at least Basilides's historians insist, making much sport of this non-existing Being who yet creates existing worlds.² This exalted Being, or Not-Being, must of course be far removed from the actual universe. Two celestial regions intervene, each with its invisible hierarchy of principalities and powers; above the Hebdomad the Ogdoad, above the Ogdoad the highest heavens, or realm of the Infinite.³ In the Ogdoad rules a mighty Archon, of great power and splendor, knowing of nothing beyond the Firmament, and fancying himself the one God; in the Hebdomad a second and inferior Archon, Jehovah of

¹ Philo, *Som.*, i. 39. "μόνον εἶναι τὸ ὄν."

² Hipp. vii. 21. "The non-existing God brought the world into non-existence out of non-existing substances." Hippolytus traces this, with much of Basilides's doctrine in general, from Aristotle. Comp. Ritter, *History of Ancient Philosophy*, iii. 114; Hipp. x. 14.

³ Hipp. vii. 24; x. 14; Eph. ii. 2. In some accounts of Basilides, or his followers, these two or three heavens are extended to 365, with a special ruler, Abraxas or Abrasa, the letters of whose name give the number 365. (Iren. i. 24, 3-7; ii. 16, 2; Hipp. vii. 26; Philo, *Som.*, i. 22.) Eph. iv. 10, "above all the heavens," gives the same idea of an indefinite number of heavens, with their hierarchies. (Eph. iii. 10.)

the Jews, also ignorant of all above himself, and also deeming himself the God of Gods. Each of these Archons creates for himself a son, who sits at his right hand ; each son being endowed with a portion of the eternal sonship which makes him superior to the Archon himself.¹ Below these realms is the kosmos or earth in which we live, awaiting the divine awakening.

All this time, within this lower creation lay a germ or seed of the divine, the incipient sonship of the Highest, planted in certain souls, and constituting them children of God. This was hidden from both Archons. It was the great mystery, — “which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men.”² The universe has always carried at its heart this mighty longing for the infinite: “For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. . . . For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.”³ At last comes the Gospel, flashing like a flame of light from sphere to sphere, from the highest to the Ogdoad, from the Ogdoad to the Hebdomad, through every Principality and Power and Do-

¹ Hipp. vii. 26.

² Eph. iii. 4, 9; 1 Cor. ii. 13.

³ Rom. viii. 19, 22; Hipp. vii. 27

minion. Each Archon learns the mystery with dismay, but yields his power at once to the Son who has revealed it. Finally, this light descends upon Jesus the son of Mary, imparting to him its radiance.¹ From Jesus it passes at once to the spiritual portion of the race, to the sons of God who have so long awaited it. The world endures till all the elect, becoming intuitively conscious of their sonship, "follow Jesus, and hasten upward, to come forth purified."² Light seeks light. Man seeks heaven as his native place.³

It will be seen that in this system the Son of God, although taking the form of Jesus of Nazareth, is no more an actual man than the Archons or the spirits of the Ogdoad. No doctrine of the incarnation having yet been formulated, the relation of God to Christ was variously conceived, and appears in these different treatises under various forms of union.

¹ A highly spiritualized interpretation of the tradition preserved in Luke i. 35.

² Hipp. vii. 25, 26; x. 14; Iren. i. 24, 6; Clem. Alex. ii. 3; ii. 6; iv. 26.

³ The process of man's preparation or purification, according to this system, is no slight one. He passes from stage to stage of being, apparently; his sins in a previous life or lives being expiated in this. His life runs back into the infinite. Comp. Clem. Alex. iv. 12.

With Basilides, as with Marcion, if not also with Paul, it is clear that the whole process was apparent rather than real. The highest heavenly power, Nous, descending upon the earth, united himself with the son of Mary, led his earthly life, suffered himself to be apparently crucified, then returned again to him that sent him.¹ Whatever Gospels Basilides had before him, his conception of the Gospel narrative was purely mystical.²

It is not easy for us to bring these strange abstractions back to life. We do not think in Ogdoads or Hebdomads nowadays, and it is hard for us to take seriously such barbaric terms. But then, if we refuse it here, we must for the same reason refuse to take the entire religious thought of the age seriously. We have already found how foreign to our beliefs were certain ideas of men in best repute, and on the most solemn of religious themes.³ If

¹ Hipp. vii. 26; Clem. Alex. ii. 8. According to one account, strongly suggestive of caricature, Basilides represented Jesus as allowing Simon of Cyrene to carry his cross, and then transfiguring Simon into his own likeness, and standing by with a smile, as Simon was crucified in his stead. (Iren. i. 24, 4; Epiph., *Her.*, xxiv. 3, 8; Luke xxiii. 26.)

² Note CC.

³ Pp. 116-121, 131-135. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, gives some idea of the difficulties which these heavenly hierarchies

Papias or Tertullian seems less fantastic than Marcion or Basilides, is it not rather a difference in their imaginative or speculative habits, than because the one comes essentially nearer than the other to the religious ideals of to-day? If we would know our spiritual progenitors at all, we must consent to take them on their own ground; to speak their language, and think for the moment their thoughts.

This becomes still more essential as we approach another of the noted thinkers of this period. We have already formed some idea of the speculative tendencies then abroad, and can easily see how such tendencies must have been stimulated by the new spiritual problems which Christianity brought to the front. Among those most profoundly impressed by these problems, and who seized them if not in their most imaginative, at least in their most poetic aspects, was Valentine. As in previous cases, we get our knowledge of the man and his

caused the Christian mind, in the following singular avowal: "For I myself, notwithstanding my bonds, cannot comprehend heavenly matters; as the places of the angels, and the companies of them under their Archons, and all these things seen and unseen; being still a learner in such affairs." (*Trall.*, v. 2.) Lightfoot understands him to say that he *does* understand; which is even more peculiar. (*Apos. Fathers*, 147.) It would be more considerate to suppose him satirical.

writings only through a hostile medium, and are permitted to recover but few facts of a life which must have been full of excitement and interest. No interpretations of Christianity, in its hours of freshness and bloom, could have greater charm for us than those of the keener-sighted and more intellectual of its disciples; but unfortunately it is precisely these which are least likely to have been preserved. Valentine seems to have been a native of Egypt,¹ possibly of Jewish birth, to have pursued his studies in Alexandria, and to have come to Rome to teach at about the same time with Marcion himself.² The descriptions of his doctrines and those of his numerous followers have become so hopelessly mixed that it is even more difficult than in other instances to discriminate between master and disciple, and harder still to interpret his thoughts into anything like the language of to-day. We can at best only hint at beliefs which had such great vogue, and exerted such widespread influence upon the nascent Christianity, that they must not be passed by in entire silence.

To Valentine, as to Basilides, the coming of Christ was a stupendous moment in the world's

¹ Epiph., *Her.*, xxxi. 2.

² About 140-155; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 11, 1.

history; the goal and fulfillment of its destiny. Ages had been preparing for it, forecasting step by step the supreme hour when the divine essence in man, after many sufferings, should recognize and rejoin its heavenly source. These foreshadowings of the final event, so far as we can reconstruct them, are like splendid rehearsals on a celestial stage; the longings, the frustrations, the eventual attainments, of heavenly natures leading the way to the great human drama. In those days there was little to impede the imagination in its dramatizations; no cold scientific habits, or too definite historical knowledge, or over-critical instincts; no acquaintance with Copernican or Galilæan systems, to forbid the creation of sphere beyond sphere as the scene of these invisible transactions, no limit to the heavenly beings needed to people those spheres.

God, according to this exposition of Christianity, is the fathomless abyss where thought stops. He is Depth, consorting with Silence.¹ He cannot, or will not, remain alone or inactive; longs, indeed, for some object of his love. From him therefore issue successive emanations or self-manifestations; series after series

¹ Iren. i. 1, 1.

of Æons.¹ There are thirty of these highest Æons, constituting the Pleroma, or infinite Fullness. Of these Nous alone (foreshadowing Christ and Jesus) knows the Father, revealing him in due time to the other Æons.² The first disturbance of the celestial harmony is caused by the youngest of the Æons, Wisdom,³ who in her untimely longing for the Infinite rushes forth from the Pleroma, only to bring into being an abortive mass which is afterwards shaped into the earth. This is the beginning of evil in the universe. Great consternation seizes the remaining Æons; and the lost harmony is restored only by the appearance of Christ and the Holy Spirit, completing the mystic number of the Æons, and imparting at

¹ Ἀἰών. Originally a space of time; or eternity. Comp. 1 Tim. i. 17; Heb. i. 2; xi. 3; Tertull. adv. Val. 4.

² Iren. i. 1, 1; i. 2, 5; Hipp. vi. 29; vi. 30. These thirty Æons appear in pairs: Nous and Alethia, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia, etc. Epiphanius gives more barbaric names for the Æons, mentioning at the same time the Greek equivalents. (xxx. 2, 4, 6.) At Valentine's hands these Æons embodied, we may suppose, abstract conceptions, whether we go the length of Baur or not: "Alle diese als Æonen hypostasirte Begriffe sind die Kategorien unter welchen das absolute Wesen gedacht werden muss, oder die Logik des göttlichen Denkens selbst." (*Christ. Gnosis*, 127, n.)

³ Σοφία.

last to the celestial company the knowledge of the Divine.¹

The scene being now shifted to lower regions, the Demiurge appears. He is the Creator and ruler in his own sphere, called into being by the above catastrophe, and an ignorant and unconscious agent in higher hands ; imaging the infinite Powers in action above him, and preparing the way for his own downfall. He is enthroned upon seven heavens, and fancies himself the Supreme ; declaring, "I am God, and beside me there is none else."² His agent and creature is the spirit of evil, the Devil, or Cosmocrator,³ who strives to keep man a creature of earth. His reign continues until the Son, whom he has himself created, and supposes wholly his own, and whom he sends forth to relieve men's woes, heals those woes in a higher sense, revealing the hidden mystery, while the Demiurge, finding himself dethroned, yields to his destiny.⁴

For this great drama, as we have seen, three Christs, or manifestations of the Christ, are necessary,⁵ the last of whom embodies himself

¹ *Iren.* i. 2, 2-5 ; *Hipp.* vi. 30 ; vi. 31.

² *Iren.* i. 5, 4 ; *Is.* xlv. 5, 6.

³ *Iren.* i. 5, 4 ; *Eph.* vi. 12.

⁴ *Iren.* i. 5, 6 ; *Hipp.* vi. 36.

⁵ *Nous* or *Monogenes*, Christ, and Jesus.

for his human mission in the son of Mary.¹ At his appearance, his own disciples, the truly "spiritual," recognize him at once, are revealed in their true nature, and rise with him to heavenly places.² These spiritual beings are the real humanity; they are "the salt of the earth," and have been foreshadowed, like the rest, from all time.³ Their tragic struggles on earth are the efforts of the higher nature to purify itself from alien elements. They are "children of eternal life." In one of the few passages from Valentine's writings which have been preserved, he pictures this struggle of imperishable beings in a perishable universe: "Ye are immortal from the beginning, and are children of eternal life; but ye were willing to have death apportioned you, that ye might spend and consume it, so that in you and through you death might die. For when ye overcome the world, but are not yourselves destroyed, ye are lords over creation and over all that is perishable."⁴ Man is bound to his baser appetites only so long as the Demiurge rules over him and suppresses his

¹ "Christ passed through Mary as water flows through a tube." Iren. i. 7, 2; Tertull. adv. Val. 27; Hipp. vi. 35.

² Iren. i. 6, 1.

³ Anthropos is one of the original Æons. Iren. i. 1, 1.

⁴ Clem. Alex. iv. 13.

consciousness of a higher estate. The earthly passions are strangers to his heart, and treat it as travelers do an inn, dwelling in it for a moment, but not regarding it as their own. "It seems to me to fare with the heart much as with a tavern; which is worn and trodden into ruts, and is oftentimes covered with the filth of travelers who have dwelt there wantonly; having no care of the place, as belonging to others. Such a place is the heart so long as no thought is taken of it; being unclean and the abode of many demons. But when he who alone is good, the Father, visits it, it becomes sanctified, and full of light. And he who has such a heart is blessed, and shall see God."¹ In the great consummation these varied elements return to their own. All that is mundane disappears. Death dies. The spiritual regains its home, and the primitive harmony is restored.²

In all this, if our interpretation can be trusted at all, we find a spiritual process throughout; a phenomenal world, in which all that is human or earthly disappears in its ideal significance. Only in this mighty process of the ages could the rising of humanity from its low estate, and its assumption of its better nature, be fitly typi-

¹ Clem. Alex. ii. 20; Hipp. vi. 34.

² Clem. Alex. v. 1; Iren. i. 7, 1; Tertull. adv. Val. 29, 32.

fied. And the main features of this scheme, it is to be remembered, are found by Valentine or his school within the letter of the Jewish or Christian Scriptures. It is the hidden meaning of those holy books, disclosing itself to those who have the key. The sublime imagery of the Old Testament Prophets, which the Demiurge himself was unable to interpret, was now for the first time disclosing to the initiated its secrets.¹ The writings of Evangelists and Apostles, the "oracles of the Lord" himself, had their hidden sense as well, which the "spiritual" alone could discern.² Paul was their authority for this: "But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory: which none of the princes of this world knew. . . . But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: . . . neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man."³ It is Paul, too, who says: "It pleased the Father that in him the entire Pleroma should dwell."⁴

¹ Iren. i. 3, 6; i. 8, 1.

² i. 8, 1.

³ 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8, 14, 15; Iren. i. 8, 3.

⁴ Col. i. 19; ii. 9; Iren. i. 3, 4.

It is Paul who speaks of "thrones, dominions, principalities and powers;" and of "the world-rulers of this darkness, and the spirit-hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places."¹ When we read in the Scriptures, "The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul,"² we are to understand this not of the Supreme Deity, but of the Demiurge, who could impart only the "soul," or animal powers, leaving the spirit to come in due time from the true God. The thirty years spent by Jesus before he entered upon his ministry portray the thirty Æons of the Pleroma; as also does the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard.³ The lost sheep of the Gospels typifies Wisdom, the youngest Æon, wandering beyond the Pleroma; the woman seeking her lost piece of silver denotes Enthymesis, or the yearning for the Infinite, recovered by that same Æon, after many ages, at the coming of the Christ.⁴

¹ Rom. viii. 38; Col. i. 16; Eph. vi. 12; Iren. i. 4, 5.

² Gen. ii. 7; Iren. i. 5, 5; Hipp. vi. 34.

³ Iren. i. 3, 1; Matt. xx. 1-6. Add the hours at which the laborers went into the vineyard, 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, and you have thirty.

⁴ Iren. i. 8, 4; Luke xv. 4, 8, 9. Some of these mystic terms, such as "homooousios," to denote oneness of essence

This sounds trivial enough to our modern tastes. Yet we may be sure that it was the most trivial instances that were most willingly preserved; and even through these we can discern an earnest and determined search for the spirit hidden beneath the letter of Christian truth. Nowhere has man's dim sense of something divine as his by right, or of a higher world to which he belongs yet does not belong, found bolder utterance than in these occult readings of the Christian Scriptures. Had the Valentinian Gospel been known among the Italian painters of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, one scene, at least, would not have remained without its artist. The aged Simeon, we are told, taking the infant Jesus in his arms, "blessed God, and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."¹ This was a symbol of the Demiurge, looking down upon the child who had come to take from him the kingdom which he had, until then, supposed was his own.²

with the divine, have held their own in the later Christian theology. (Iren. i. 5, 1 and 5. Comp. Harnack, *Hist. of Dog.*, i. 257, n. 3.)

¹ Luke ii. 28, 29.

² Iren. i. 8, 4. See Note DD.

Perhaps I owe my readers an apology for leading them, thus unawares, into the deadly ambush of Gnosticism; but that name has acquired so forbidding a sound that I must be excused for having postponed the mention of it to the last possible moment. Yes, this is Gnosticism, in so far as that many-sided movement can be seen in the persons of its most noted exponents. It is no place here to analyze Gnosticism, or give its history, but the thing itself can no more be ignored in speaking of the second century than the presence of the scientific spirit in speaking of the nineteenth. The question is not so much to define Gnosticism, as to let Gnosticism define the age in which it appeared. Gnosticism was simply the theological attitude of the time; the form in which its religious philosophy chose to shape itself. When the Roman empire in its career of conquest set all religions and philosophies face to face, bringing the worships and systems of the East into Rome itself, some startling results were bound to follow; and these dualistic and allegoric extravagances are only isolated instances of those results. It would be impossible, if we desired, to trace all the Gnostic schools back to their sources; but some lines can be briefly pointed out.

Obscure indications of what was happening even on purely Jewish soil are afforded by such stories as that of Simon the Sorcerer; who, whatever his real character, had a great religious following in Samaria in apostolic times, and was regarded as the "Great Power of God."¹ But other indications, much less obscure, appeared elsewhere, at the same time. Both Basilides and Valentine, we must remember, had some connection with the schools of Alexandria, an intellectual centre where the contact of classic philosophies with Hebrew and other oriental faiths was more marked and fruitful than at any other point. That Judaism had long felt, in some measure, this rationalizing influence, we know very well;² but all other

¹ Acts viii. 10. Literally, "the Power of God called Great;" as though the highest of the attendant spirits of Deity. Simon was credited by many of the ancient writers with being the fountain-head of all the Gnostic sects. (Justin, *Apol.*, i. 26; ii. 15; Iren. i. 23, 2; ii. Pref.; Hipp. vi. 7-20; Epiph. i. 2, 1; Euseb. iv. 22, 5; *Apos. Const.*, vi. 7.) In later history he became a highly mythical personage, and is regarded by many as a purely imaginary character. (Baur, *Christ. Gnosis*, 303-313; Zeller, *Acts*, i. 250-267.) But there seems little doubt of the existence of such a leader, and none at all of the movement itself of which he was the traditional head.

² See Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom of Solomon, and still later Jewish literature.

Hellenistic tokens are but faint compared with what we find in the writings of an early contemporary of Paul, Philo the Alexandrian Jew.¹ To Philo, as to other thoughtful Jews, the literal interpretation of Hebrew history, with its cruelties, its idolatries, and its gross anthropomorphism, had become intolerable. From this the Greek and Roman fashion of dealing with the gods of their Olympus² offered a convenient and welcome escape. The Old Testament received an occult interpretation. It was a grand piece of symbolism, intended from the beginning to hide diviner truths. Later generations, troubled in their turn by traditional beliefs too sacred to be renounced yet too unreal to be longer retained, owe an immense debt to Philo for having domesticated this spiritualizing process within the Jewish faith. At his hands the Old Testament became a splendid allegory, behind which the sublimest tenets of philosophy

¹ Aristobulus, a Jewish writer under Ptolemy Philometer, about B. C. 160, showed similar tendencies; but few traces of his writings remain. (Clem. Alex. i. 15; v. 14; vi. 3; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, vii. 32, 16.)

For Philo, consult Ritter, *Hist. of Ancient Philosophy*, iv. 407-473; Hausrath, *Time of Apos.*, i. 161-189; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 276, etc.; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, vii. 194, etc.

² Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 23-28; Boissier, *La Religion Romaine*, ii. 121-147.

lay hidden, and in which Moses and the Patriarchs became types of heavenly virtues, or lofty metaphysical ideals. Judaism became the mouth-piece of Stoic and Platonic philosophy.

This process of interpretation once entered upon, there is no necessary limit in any direction. Jehovah comes to embody the highest thought of Deity. He is the One Supreme; he is the universe itself; he is the All.¹ He cannot be defined, for he has no distinctive qualities or names. "He is not of a nature to be described, but is simply Being."² This Philo finds hidden in the words: "Ye shall not make with me gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold."³ The world has been in existence, ideally, from the beginning of time. As man was created "after the image of God,"⁴ so this visible universe is only an image of the archetypal idea, or real world, existing in the mind of Deity.⁵ In creating the visible world he could not act of himself, "for it was not lawful that the wise and blessed God should touch ignorant and disorderly matter."⁶ But there was no lack of helpers; the air being

¹ Philo, *Leg. Alleg.*, i. 14.

² *Leg. Alleg.*, i. 15; *Som.*, i. 39.

³ Ex. xx. 23.

⁴ Gen. i. 27.

⁵ *De Mund. Opif.*, 4, 6.

⁶ *Vict. Off.*, 13; *Sac. Abel*, 28.

filled with incorporeal beings, called by philosophers demons, but by the Scriptures angels, passing constantly back and forth, as seen by Jacob in his dream.¹ These spirits are the words of God, at the head of whom is the Word, the Logos, the Idea of ideas.² The Logos performs many functions, and so receives many epithets at Philo's hands. He is the image of God, as being the original or archetypal man;³ he is the High Priest;⁴ he is the first-born,⁵ the Helper or Comforter;⁶ he is the Second God. "Why is it," Philo asks, "that the Scripture says, 'In the image of a god created he man?' as if it were the image of another God, and not himself? Very beautifully and wisely has this expression been used," is the re-

¹ *Som.*, i. 21, 22; *De Mund. Opif.*, 24. Philo evidently feels that there is a loophole here for the introduction of evil into the world, always so embarrassing a problem for the theologians. In speaking of the creation of man, he says quite seriously: "Most appropriately, therefore, did God assign the making of this creature to his lieutenants, saying, 'Let us make man' (Gen. i. 26); so that man's intellectual achievements could be ascribed to God alone, his sins to the others." (*Confus. Ling.*, 35; *De Mund. Opif.*, 24. Comp. Plato's *Tymæus*, 41, 42, 68.)

² *Confus. Ling.*, 8, 28; *De Mund. Opif.*, 6, 46; *Leg. Alleg.*, ii. 21.

³ *Confus. Ling.*, 28.

⁴ *Som.*, i. 37.

⁵ *Som.*, i. 37.

⁶ *Vit. Mos.*, iii. 14.

ply ; "for it was impossible for anything mortal to be made in the image of the most high God, the Father of all ; it could be made only after the second god, his Logos."¹ The Scriptures, according to Philo, make a distinction between the "sons of men," who build towers of Babel, and the "sons of God," who, though not quite worthy perhaps to be called sons of God himself, are yet "virtuous and wise," and deserve to be called children of his "eternal image, his most sacred Word."² The seventy elders who saw the God of Israel typify these higher souls striving for the actual sight of God.³ The primitive man was formed of finest clay, receiving from God a breath of divine life which he has never wholly lost.⁴ When Abraham was led forth, and bade "to look towards heaven, and tell the stars," it typified the soul escaping from itself and becoming absorbed in God.⁵

This occult wisdom which enables one to discover the hidden truth of things is naturally not open to all ; it comes by inspiration to those capable of it. It comes in trances, such as that

¹ *Fragmenta*, 625, quoted by Eusebius ; *Confus. Ling.*, 28.

² *Confus. Ling.*, 28.

³ Ex. xxiv. 10 ; *Confus. Ling.*, 23, 20.

⁴ *De Mund. Opif.*, 47, 51.

⁵ Gen. xv. 5 ; *Leg. Alleg.*, iii. 9, 12, 15 ; *Nom. Mut.*, 4.

which fell upon Adam, or upon Abraham, "as the sun was going down."¹ The mind, in this exalted state, receives direct notions of invisible things; sacred mysteries, not to be imparted to the uninitiated. Philo describes, with great emotion, the rapture of the God-inspired soul; how, "raised up on wings . . . having passed beyond all sensible things, it yearns for the things of the mind; and beholding there, in their perfect beauty, the patterns and ideals of things perceptible here to the sense, it is seized by a sober intoxication, like the frenzy of the Corybantes, only with a nobler longing, and so is borne upward to the very verge of supersensual things, into the presence of the great king."² Indeed, he does not hesitate to declare, like Paul,³ that he had himself shared in these unspeakable experiences.⁴

This revived Platonism, tinged with oriental mysticism, Philo passed on to more philosophic and creative thinkers, at whose hands it took a form even more abstract, and lasted, as the Neo-Platonic School, quite into the fifth cen-

¹ Gen. ii. 21; xv. 12.

² *De Mund. Opif.*, 23; *Leg. Alleg.*, iii. 33; *Cain*, 14; *Quis Her.*, 52, 53.

³ 2 Cor. xii. 1-4.

⁴ *De Migrat. Abr.*, 7, 34. Note EE.

tury, counting no less a personage than the Emperor Julian among its disciples, and affording a dignified close to the long reign of Greek philosophy. Certainly, philosophic mysticism could hardly reach a higher point than in the person of Plotinus, the founder of the school, who so disdained his own bodily existence that he refused to tell either his parents, his country, or his birthday; who, when asked to sit for his portrait, declined to leave to posterity an image of so base an image, and who four times, through the intensity of his spiritual passion, rose to actual union with God.¹ This touch of apparent fanaticism was only an outward and incidental feature of a singularly noble life and refined system of thought, which claims our attention here as one token the more of the lofty themes which were then occupying the best minds of the age. It gives us the philosophic side of the movement whose religious or Gnostic form we have just seen under the contact of Christianity.

It cannot be said that any direct connection can be established between Philo and the Gnostic schools. The origin of Gnosticism is absolutely obscure, and all that can be done is to

¹ A. D. 205-270. Porphyrius, *Vita Plotini*, ch. I, 10, 23; *Select Works of Plotinus*, Taylor, pp. xliii, lxviii.

point out the relation of Basilides and Valentine to Alexandria, and the unequivocal resemblance between many of Philo's ideas and theirs. What Philo had done for Judaism, in disclosing its occult significance, these and others were easily led to do for the younger faith which was making its appearance as Philo left the stage. The more easily, as the early Christians clung so tenaciously to their Jewish origin, and insisted on discovering their own highest mysteries hidden beneath the words of Moses and the Prophets. To the profane eye, it might seem a somewhat subordinate rôle to assign to Christianity, to make it simply an echo of the older dispensation ; but this was not the view of the age we are studying, as we have had abundant opportunity to note. Marcion, indeed (who was Gnostic rather by courtesy), made quick work of the whole Jewish matter, casting it scornfully aside as unworthy intelligent thought ; but Basilides and Valentine, with their numerous followers, welcomed the allegorical method with fervor, and gave it a footing in Christian councils from which it has never yet been dislodged.¹ The extraordinary aspects which it

¹ Marcion held many ideas in common with the Gnostics, and so is commonly classed with them ; but at the same time had an aversion to the allegorical method, and showed

assumed at their hands, hardly more fantastic, after all, than with many of their mediæval and modern imitators, find an easy explanation in the more ingenuous temper of those primitive days, and the disturbed spiritual conditions to which Christianity at first addressed itself. It would need more explanation still, if Christian tenets had not stirred the pagan imagination to novel flights.

The three names which I have given are but a few out of many ; some later, some probably earlier than themselves. The followers of Basilides and Valentine became subdivided into various sects, alongside of which, from similar or different sources, sprang up numberless schools known to us hardly more than through their names. The earliest writer upon this subject mentions twenty-one distinct sects ;¹ while another, somewhat later, gives twenty-two.² Gibbon knows of fifty ;³ one of the latest and most thorough historians of Gnosticism gives forty-three.⁴ We are to think of these sects as spread over the entire field of Christendom,

little of the speculative or idealizing tendencies which chiefly characterize the movement.

¹ Iren., *Har.*, i.

² Hippolytus, *Ref. Omnium Hæresium*.

³ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xv.

⁴ Matter, *Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme*.

and entering by antagonism or assimilation into the life and thought of all the churches. As time went on, it is plain that their doctrines, in some quarters, at least, became more and more extravagant. Charlatans entered their ranks, impostors played the hypocrite under the mask of their convenient tenets, voluptuaries availed themselves of the distinction between carnal and spiritual to indulge in forbidden pleasures, and to decline any such profession of their Christian faith as would involve the perils of martyrdom.¹ They seem also to have borrowed much from the astrological superstitions of the hour, and magicians and ghost-fanciers found as many dupes among them as they find among the worshipers of this enlightened nineteenth century.² But despite these vagaries, common to it with many similar movements, Gnosticism was a power to be reckoned with in many directions. In the domain of morals,

¹ Iren. i. 25, 4; i. 6, 2-4; iii. 18, 5; Clem. Alex. iv. 4; iv. 9; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 7, 9; Tertull., *Scorp.*, 15.

² Hipp. v. 21, etc.; Origen, *Cels.*, vi. 24. Anz, a recent writer on this subject, traces the various Gnostic sects to an original gnostic cult whose home was in Babylon. According to him it provided occult formulæ for guiding the soul through the seven planetary spheres, with their seven hostile Archons, or doorkeepers, up to the highest heaven. (*Ursprung d. Gnosticismus.*) Comp. Iren. i. 21, 5.

apart from certain aberrations, it advocated a system of asceticism too exacting to be popularly accepted, yet which reappeared later in the rigors of monasticism ; in the field of worship, it contributed more than its share to the hymnology and ritual of the young church ;¹ while it was the source apparently of much of the magic ceremonial which has held its place with such singular persistency in Christian worship.² Most important of all, however, and the service by which it will be longest remembered, is the light it throws upon the theological speculations out of which the Catholic theology was born.

It will be clear from the above, I think, that Gnosticism has little claim to be called a system. There is but slight proof that these various schools held any conscious relation to each other, or recognized any common fellowship. It is doubtful even whether they had any common name, until this name was conferred upon them by the historians of heresy, for purposes of classification.³ Their prominent character-

¹ Iren. i. 21, 3 and 5; Hipp. v. 10; vi. 47; Canon Muratori, 4; Tertull., *Car. Christi*, 17. See Matter, ii. 264, 351; Harnack, *Hist. of Dog.*, i. 241; also, *Pistis Sophia*.

² Iren. i. 21, 3-5; Clem. Alex. vii. 17; Renan, *Hist.*, vi. 154; vii. 144.

³ Note FF.

istic was held to be the claim to an occult knowledge of the Christian revelation. The Gnostic is *he who knows*; who has a profounder insight into the eternal secrets than the unilluminated worshiper; and through this knowledge gains immediate access to Deity. This mystic insight into things divine became a contagious doctrine, and the first impulse evidently was to insist upon it as the distinguishing attribute of the true Christian. The leading Christian Father of the end of the century, Clement of Alexandria, so far from resenting the name Gnostic, claims it for himself and all of his faith. The Gnostic, according to him, is the true Christian. He is the only one who penetrates to the inner knowledge of things; and by this knowledge overcomes the world, and becomes one with God.¹ For a moment Gnosticism seemed destined to implant itself in the bosom of Christianity.² Afterwards the tendency fell under suspicion, and this very claim of superior knowledge was denounced, and became the convenient dis-

¹ Clem. Alex. i. 1; i. 6; i. 13; ii. 17; ii. 20; iv. 17-22.

² Tertull., *Prax.*, 7, 8. To see the sort of influence which Gnostic thought was exerting upon the inchoate Christian theology, it is only necessary to read a passage like this, where Tertullian is proving that the Son can issue from the Father, yet remain the same as the Father, and has to borrow Valentine's *Æons* for his own purposes.

nation of the many groups which were wandering from the trodden paths.

In later days, as is well known, Gnosticism was declared a heresy ; and it may be expected of me, before dropping the subject, to draw the exact lines which separate it from Christianity. Some of my readers have already taken exception, perhaps, to my treating the movement as if it were really part and parcel of Christian history. It must be remembered, however, that we are not treating Christian history as a whole ; we are standing within the second century, to see what was happening then and there ; and with the best purpose in the world, I can see no distinction whatever at that time between the three leaders here mentioned and other Christian teachers. They had their opponents, no doubt, from the start. Justin Martyr hated Marcion with a godly hatred, and declared his followers impious heretics. At the same time he admits that they "are called Christians," just as Pharisees and Sadducees were called Jews ; the one case seeming to him quite as unrighteous as the other.¹ The Gnostic was worse than other heretics, it appears, mainly because he denied that the Messiah would reign in Jerusalem a thousand years. The other Fathers, haters of

¹ *Trypho*, 35, 80.

heretics as they were, all acknowledged that the prominent Gnostics claimed to be Christian, and were commonly called so. Perhaps none of them puts the case with more tell-tale simplicity than Tertullian. "As they are heretics," he says, "they cannot be Christians, . . . and so have no right to the Christian writings ; so that we may properly say to them : Who are you ? When and whence did you come ? What have you to do with my property, as you are none of mine ? You, Marcion, by what right do you cut my wood ? You, Valentine, who gave you leave to turn my streams aside ? Apelles, why are you removing my landmarks ? This is my property ; I have held it a long time ; I held it first ; I have safe title-deeds from the original owners ; I am the heir of the Apostles."¹ The simple fact is that these men considered themselves Christians, and were called so by others ;² they had their churches, bishops, Scriptures, and worship, and are charged by their opponents with aspiring to high ecclesiastical positions ;³ they base their doctrines on the Christian Scriptures ;⁴ one of them is the

¹ Tertull., *Pras.*, 37.

² Justin, *Apol.*, i. 26 ; *Trypho*, 35, 80 ; Iren. iv. 33, 3.

³ Iren. iv. 26, 3 ; Tertull. *Pras.*, 30, 32 ; Val. 4.

⁴ Iren. i. Pref. ; i. 3, 6 ; i. 8, 5 ; iii. 15, 2.

first scholar known to us to edit a Gospel, or collect the Epistles of Paul;¹ another, according to his critics, wrote a commentary on the Gospels in twenty-four books.² It would have been difficult for any of their opponents at that moment to have brought forward more satisfactory credentials than these. If it is claimed that they were pronounced heretics in the end, and cast out of fellowship by the leading churches of the time, this cannot be denied. But what shall we say of Tertullian, who abandoned the church because it would not come over with him into Montanism?³ Or of Justin

¹ Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. ; v.

² Basilides. Comp. Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 7, 7; Clem. Alex. iv. 12.

³ Tertull., *Prax.*, i.; *De Pud.*, i. 1, 21; *Jej.*, 13; *Cast.*, 7; Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.*, 53. The Montanists were the followers of Montanus, a Phrygian reformer and enthusiast, who lived about 170. He claimed that the prophetic gifts recognized in apostolic times (1 Cor. xii. 10, 28; xiv. 1, 5, 31) still existed; and that the Paraclete promised by Christ (John xiv. 16, 26; xvi. 7) had really come. The movement resembled somewhat the Second Advent excitements of later days, and brought to a sharp issue the question whether divine inspiration could still be present in the church, or had disappeared with the Apostles. With this went, of course, the question whether there could still be inspired writings; a dispute which was speedily settled by the establishment of a New Testament Canon. Comp. Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, v. 14-18; Epiph., *Her.*, xlviii. 1; also,

Martyr, Papias, and Irenæus, who were declared heretics for their millennial errors? Or of Tatian, cast out for his asceticism? Judged by the final decisions of the church, when doctrines were at last established, every one of these church Fathers fell into heresies quite as perilous to the faith as the speculative errors of Gnosticism. It is quite superfluous at this distance to attempt to determine their degrees of error, or even to insist upon the name of heretic at all.

At that time, it must be remembered, there could be no genuine heresy, for there was no established faith. No Councils had yet rendered their decisions. There was no accepted Christian canon. There was no Christian Church. Churches there were, scattered through Asia Minor, Palestine, Greece, Rome, Africa, and Gaul; but no Church; no one organization including them all; no single head; no full consciousness of unity.¹ We are witnessing

Holtzmann, *Einleit.*, 118; Harnack, *Hist. of Dog.*, ii. 95-108.

¹ The term "catholic church" (universal church) begins to be heard about this time. In earlier hours "the church" seems to have been conceived of only as an ideal gathering of believers, to be realized, like all else, in the coming kingdom. (Eph. i. 10, 22, 23; *Teaching of Twelve Apos.*, 9, 10.) The word "catholic" is found first in Ignatius, though prob-

in these very struggles, and the dissensions which they reveal, the first motives for a compacter union. The sense of unity, however feeble, is beginning to assert itself, though writers differ as to the tests to be applied.¹ Before many years there will plainly be some established tribunal before which all teachers of novel or false doctrines must appear and give account of themselves. But meantime all doctrines have their chance. If Justin and Irenæus have a right to their views of the great Christian mysteries, so have Basilides, and Valentine, and Bardesanes, and Saturninus. Fortunately these great questions could not be decided in a moment; and the world's philosophy had got well inside the church before the gates were closed.²

ably without its later technical meaning. (*Symrn.*, viii. 2; also, *Mart. of Polycarp*, viii. 1.) Irenæus uses it, though not familiarly. (i. 10, 3.) Origen still speaks more easily of "churches" than "the church." (*Cels.*, v. 59; vi. 21.) Also Tertull., *Præs.*, 26, 30; Clem. Alex. vii. 17.

¹ Tertull., *Præs.*, 20, 21, 28, 32, 6; Iren. iii. 2, 1; iii. 3, 1; iii. 4, 1; v. 20, 1; Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 4; Clem. Alex. vii. 17.

² The exact relation of Gnosticism to Christianity has always been a subject of dispute. Some writers represent it as coming into full existence only on Christian soil (Baur, *Christ. Gnosis*; Schweigler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, ii. 231); others that it has no necessary connection with Christianity, but

I do not mean to intimate that there was any moment when these Gnostic ideas were received with universal favor. Indeed, the opposition to them began at once. By the end of the century, the great magnates of the church had entered upon an unsparing campaign against the whole mystic crowd. The vagaries of the followers, if not of the leaders, gave ample field for satire and caricature. The very mention of Æons or of the Pleroma filled the good Fathers with mirth. "Iu, Iu, Pheu, Pheu!" cries Irenæus; "for well may we strike the tragic note at this audacity; at these unblushing names coined for a system of falsehood."¹ He professes to be much affected at the sorrows of Acamoth,² sitting and weeping over her exile

has a far remoter origin. (Matter, *Hist. Crit.*, i. 259, 399.) Neander treats it as a reaction of the antique principle against the Christian, but gives the great Gnostic systems a wholly sympathetic treatment. (*Hist.*, i. 366, etc.) Renan regards Gnosticism as a species of croup or measles, to which the infant Christendom was of necessity exposed, and from which it had reason to congratulate itself for having escaped on such easy terms. (*Hist.*, vi. 140.) Harnack, with less humor, perhaps, but keener historic sense, calls the Gnostics, out and out, the "theologians of the first century," *i. e.*, first century of the Christian Church. (*Hist. Dog.*, i. 227.)

For *Pistis Sophia*, a recently discovered Gnostic writing, see Note GG.

¹ Iren. i. 11, 4.

² Same as Sophia, p. 170.

from the Pleroma, and suggests that all the seas, fountains, and rivers, and especially the hot-springs, flowed from her tears.¹ Tertullian considered Bythos and Sige, Nous and Veritas, as the first four-in-hand known to history; was evidently anxious lest the Æons, from their stupendous number, should not be adequately housed in the heavenly regions; and imagined the celestial palaces piled up, story upon story, and labeled, no doubt, "rooms to let."² The amenities so familiar to all theological literature were visited freely upon the great leaders of the movement, especially upon Marcion, whose successful propaganda of his doctrines exposed him to peculiar virulence. The epithets applied to him form an instructive theologic anthology. Justin Martyr called him a devil;³ Polycarp, "the firstborn of Satan;"⁴ Irenæus a snake;⁵ Hippolytus, a hound;⁶ Rhodo, a wolf;⁷ Epiphanius, a viper;⁸ Cyprian, a blasphemer;⁹

¹ Iren. i. 4, 4. Comp. Orig., *Celsus*, v. 55.

² Tertull. adv. Val. 7.

³ *Apol.*, i. 26; i. 58.

⁴ Iren. iii. 3, 4; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 14, 7.

⁵ i. 27, 3.

⁶ *Philos.*, vii. 30.

⁷ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, v. 13, 4.

⁸ *Hær.*, xlii. 14.

⁹ *Concilium Carthag.*, 52.

Tertullian, at different moments of his wrath, a monster, a gnawing-mouse, and a cuttle-fish.¹

Meantime, despite all vituperation and excommunications, the new doctrines got a hearing everywhere, and left hardly a single region unvisited. The following century found Marcionites and Valentinians from Gaul to Africa.² The several historians of heresy enumerate as many sects as churches, and intimate, one after another, that the worst of the task is still to be undertaken.³ In the fourth century, during the Arian controversy, Gnostics still existed in Gaul, Spain, and Aquitania, and still troubled the faithful by their over-zealous asceticism.⁴ In the sixth century there was still necessity for Byzantine legislation against the Marcionites.⁵

Our chief interest in Gnosticism, however, is in its beginnings, before it has yet been pronounced an outcast, and while it is still fighting on equal terms against the early traditions, and luring the Christian mind so resistlessly into

¹ Marc. i. 1; ii. 20.

² Justin, *Apol.*, i. 26; *Trypho*, 35; Tertull. adv. Val. i.; Iren. i. 13, 7; iv. Pref.

³ Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus.

⁴ *Philaster de Hæresibus*, lxxxiv.

⁵ Matter, ii. 314.

the regions of abstract speculation. Before it can be banished from the churches, its work is accomplished. For more than a century, as we have seen, Christianity has been so steeped in allegory and mysticism that it can never be quite the same again.¹

¹ Note HH.

CHAPTER VI

THE MYSTIC GOSPEL

CHRISTIANITY had done its best, as we have seen, to purge itself of the virus of Gnosticism. But it was too late. It might cast out its Marcions and Valentines, but it could not undo the work they had wrought. Gnosticism had become bone of its bone. To read the pages of what was soon to be known as the New Testament is to come upon these hated doctrines again and again. They mark especially all the later books, bringing them into vivid contrast with the earlier. How unlike the Jesus of the Galilæan Gospels is the "Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men."¹ What place could be found in Matthew

¹ Phil. ii. 5-7. Baur finds in this passage a distinct reminiscence of the Valentinian episode of the Æon Sophia, described p. 170. (*Paulus*, ii. 51.)

or Mark for this language? "Who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature: for by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers. . . . And he is before all things, and by him all things consist. . . . In him dwelleth the whole Pleroma of the Godhead bodily."¹ Or where could this come in? "Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat

¹ Col. i. 15-17; ii. 9. The moment attention is directed to this point, passages are recalled throughout Paul's Epistles which bear this same stamp, showing how early the vague movement began which received afterwards the name of Gnosticism. The second chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians might stand as the Preface to any Gnostic treatise. (1 Cor. ii. 6-16.) The Valentinians seem to have found Eph. iii. 14-18 very serviceable for their purposes; and might equally well have quoted Rom. viii. 38, 39. (Hipp. vi. 34.) Sophia and Gnosis figure in 1 Cor. i. 5, 20, 30; ii. 4, 6; viii. 1, 7; xiv. 6; Rom. xv. 14, and elsewhere. According to Gnostic writers, the familiar benedictions, "To whom be glory for ever and ever," and "World without end," are an avowal of their faith. These words simply proclaim the glory of the Æons, and should read: "To whom be glory, unto the Æons of Æons;" or, "To all the generations of the Æon of Æons." (Iren. i. 3, 1. Comp. Gal. i. 5; Eph. iii. 21.)

down on the right hand of the Majesty on high ; being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they." ¹ Or this ? " His name is called The Word of God. . . . And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords." ² Strange reading this, also, for those who know the death and resurrection of the Master only as narrated by the early Gospels : " Put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit : by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison ; . . . and is gone into heaven, . . . angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him." ³

It must be confessed, however, that these are but fragmentary and most inadequate tokens of a great spiritual movement. Is there nothing more to show ? Does nothing remain but these scanty citations, or the recriminations of hostile theologians, to mark an agitation which stirred the young Christian Church so profoundly ? Unfortunate, indeed, for the student of religious history, if this is really so.

Happily, if appearances do not deceive us, we are not so badly off. Just as the three earlier

¹ Heb. i. 3, 4.

² Rev. xix. 13, 15.

³ 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, 22 ; iv. 6. See p. 61 n.

Gospels were assuming their final shape, and receiving the sanction of the churches, a fourth, whose unwonted form betrays a wholly dissimilar origin, is added to the number. We can only guess at its exact source. At a time when nearly all Christian writings were virtually anonymous, we cannot complain if this also shows but little trace of its authorship.¹ From what school of thinkers it comes, however, there can be little question. Its opening verses reflect familiar meditations, and carry us at once into a religious atmosphere which we have learned to associate with Alexandria. We cannot be surprised at this. If the Jewish mind had been so influenced by Greek philosophy, how much more the Christian, with new and strange problems on its hands as to the relation of the human and the divine.² To the Jew, these

¹ Except seven Epistles of Paul, there are no New Testament books on whose authorship the majority of critics are agreed.

² Comp. pp. 178-183. The indications of Alexandrian influence in the New Testament are obvious, chiefly in the Epistles attributed to Paul, but elsewhere as well. Comp. Heb. i. 3-8; xiii. 5; Rev. xix. 13; 1 John; Acts xviii. 24; xix. 1; 1 Cor. i. 12; iii. 4, 6; Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians, entire. In Heb. xiii. 5, a Scripture saying is quoted which it is impossible to find exactly in the Old Testament, but which occurs literally in Philo, *Confus. Ling.*, 32.

speculations threw light upon a grand historic past; to the Christian, they offered a splendid interpretation of incidents and truths still fresh in mind. The eternal Word, the only-begotten Son in the bosom of the Father, whom Philo could depict with the unimpassioned indifference of a philosopher, becomes for the Christian soul a sublime reality. It has taken flesh, and dwelt among men. The drama of ages has reached at last its fulfillment. How inadequate for the portrayal of this celestial scheme must the simple Galilæan chronicles have appeared, with which till then the church had been content. Plainly, another Gospel must stand by their side, to reveal the divine significance of what they had treated as purely earthly events.

We must not pretend to more knowledge of this unknown writer or his origin than we really possess.¹ It is only conjecture that connects him directly with Alexandria, or indeed with any special locality or circle; and we must rest content with marking the close affinities of thought and expression between the Fourth

¹ A second century tradition, not earlier than 175, ascribes this Gospel to the Apostle John; but although accepted by the Christian Church for generations, the tradition can have no other critical weight than belongs to an early conjecture. This question will come up at a later point.

Gospel and the Alexandrian School.¹ As little do we know how far the author was indebted to the older Gospels for any of his historic material. There is certainly no sign of antagonism on his part, nor of any conscious purpose to supplement or correct them. One wonders, indeed, whether he even knew of their existence, so little does he hold to their narrative, or trouble himself to show where he deviates from it. The deviations are profound, and, if reconcilable at all with the primitive accounts, have never yet been reconciled.² At the same time, the in-

¹ Many interesting indications point to Ephesus as the possible source of the Fourth Gospel; thus taking us back into the regions where Papias was laboring, and bringing into immediate contrast the two lines of thought and faith which the Christian Church was following at the same moment side by side. We have already noted the signs of close relations between Alexandria and Asia Minor at an early period, as shown in Acts xviii. 24-28; xix. 1. Similar tokens are found in the Epistles to Colossians and Ephesians (whether the title is genuine or not) written for Asia Minor communities; also in 1 Tim. i. 3, 4; Acts xx. 4. That Asia Minor was the scene of much spiritual turmoil, and the centre of many of the religious disturbances of the second century, is a well-known fact; and this would certainly make it a natural source for this Gospel, if the historical proofs were stronger. See Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, ii. 169, 170; Harnack, *Chron.*, 661, etc.; Pfeiderer, *Urchrist.*, 778; Jülicher, *Einleit.*, 259.

² Much of the material from which the first three Gospels

genuous and occasionally realistic character of the new narrative is too marked to allow us to suppose that the writer is inventing his story, or even wholly subordinating the outward events to his spiritual theme.¹ He bases his Gospel upon what he believes to be actual facts; yet he leads us through unfamiliar scenes from beginning to end, and we become aware that he is drawing from some distinct and original historic source. Wherever this Gospel was written, in Alexandria, or in Asia Minor, a tradition of Jesus had survived as unlike the Palestine picture as Phrygia was unlike Galilee. It is no longer a Galilæan ministry that we are witnessing. It is in Judæa that the Messiah begins his earthly work; in Judæa that he chiefly continues it; and in Judæa that he ends it.² Instead of last-

were drawn was, of course, common property; and it is a nice problem to decide whether an almost contemporaneous writer is borrowing indirectly from them, or directly from the original source. Critics who insist that our Gospel was indebted to its three predecessors have to admit that the author took great liberties with those predecessors, and drew equally freely from outside sources. See Note II.

¹ In many details this Gospel is more minute and realistic than its predecessors: vi. 5-13, 15, 22-24; vii. 5; viii. 3-11; ix. 6; xviii. 2, 13, 26; xix. 21, 23.

² The only association with Galilee is in the passages: i. 45, 46; ii. 1-11; iv. 43-54; vi. 1-vii. 9. Jesus stays in Galilee, at most (if chronological calculations are to be applied to the



ing but a single year, it goes on from one Passover to another, and still another.¹ He has at his side, not the familiar Twelve, but four or five companions hardly known to the other Evangelists.² He discourses with his disciples or the multitude, not in familiar conversation or parable, but in stately tones of reverie or monologue.

But it is not so much the historic scenery

Fourth Gospel at all), but 1 + 3 + 6 months; *i. e.*, ten months out of nearly three years.

¹ John ii. 13; vi. 4; xi. 55. In Matthew, Mark, and Luke, only one Passover is mentioned. (Matt. xxvi. 2; Mark xiv. 1; Luke xxii. 1.)

² But for two or three perfunctory allusions to "the Twelve" (vi. 67-71; xx. 24), we should know nothing of a circle of twelve disciples. Andrew, Philip, and Thomas, who are so conspicuous in this narrative (i. 40, 43-45; vi. 5-8; xii. 22; xiv. 5, 8; xx. 24-29), play but an insignificant part in the other Gospels; while Nathaniel, of whom Jesus speaks with such peculiar commendation (i. 45-51), and who is especially named as a disciple (xxi. 2), is absolutely unknown elsewhere. Commentators make praiseworthy attempts to identify Nathaniel with one or other of the Twelve. One is sure that his name is synonymous with Matthew (Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, ii. 170; Pfeiderer, *Urchrist.*, 700 n.); another equally positive that it is the same with Bartholomew. (Meyer on John, i. 46.) Beside these there is a certain "beloved disciple," whose name is never disclosed and who is elsewhere unknown, who evidently made part of the local traditions from which our author draws. (xiii. 23; xix. 26; xxi. 20.)

which distinguishes this Gospel from the others, as the spirit in which the facts are handled. The writer's interest lies, without concealment, not in the incidents which he is recording, but in their spiritual significance. Though transacted on earth, it is none the less a heavenly history which he presents. Indeed, it has no earthly beginning. There is no birth, not even a miraculous one; still less any Baptism,¹ or Temptation, or Gethsemane. We are taken back at the outset to the very beginning, before time was; into the mysteries of the eternal councils. The actor in these scenes is not the human Jesus that he seems; not really he. It is the very Word, the Logos, which was with God from the beginning and was himself divine.² He was the agent through whom all

¹ John i. 32, 33, is commonly supposed to refer to the baptism of Jesus; but the only ground for the assumption is that in the other Gospels the descent of the Spirit is connected with that event. The passage itself does not imply that Jesus was baptized. If our author is acquainted with the tradition, he suppresses it.

² i. 1: "καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος." The absence of the article with Θεός makes the translation "The Word was a god," or "was divine," more probable than the common version. In any case, it hardly appears how the Word could be "*with* God," and at the same time God himself, in the author's mind. Philo, in commenting upon an Old Testament passage, recognizes just this distinction between Θεός with and

things were created.¹ He was the only son really born of God; the only begotten;² and shared the life and light which constitutes the essence of Deity.³ All this time, while the Son rested in the bosom of the Father, the world was lying in darkness, unaware even of the light which was shining upon every soul which came into the world.⁴ In him alone lies the redemption of a world bound in the tragic antithesis of darkness and light, evil and good.⁵ Now, at last (we are not told how or when), he has taken the form of flesh; has dwelt among us indeed in an earthly tabernacle, and we have

without the article. "The true God is one, but those loosely called God are many. The Scriptures therefore indicated the true God by using the article, but the ones improperly so called by omitting the article. In this way, it calls the most ancient Word god" (without article). "For it does not belong to the Supreme to be described, but simply to be." (*Som.*, i. 39.) Our author is not so exact in this regard as Philo, as he sometimes seems to recognize this distinction (viii. 54; x. 33-35), but in other cases ignores it. (i. 6, 12, 13, 18; iii. 2, 21; xix. 7.) The translation above given, however, seems more in accordance with the usage of the times. (See Meyer's commentary on this passage; Bretschneider, *Glaubenslehre*, 302.) See Note JJ.

¹ John i. 3.

² i. 14, 18. The word here translated "only begotten" means in all other parts of the New Testament simply the *only son*. (Luke vii. 12; viii. 42; also, John v. 26.)

³ i. 4.

⁴ i. 9.

⁵ i. 5, 10-13.

gazed upon his glory, full of grace and truth.¹ We have received what Moses and the Law could not give; what he alone who is in the bosom of the Father can declare.² With the coming of the Christ,³ man enters at last upon his divine inheritance, the sonship of God.

With this Prologue, so impressive in its simplicity, and lending celestial dignity to all that follows, the new Gospel opens. The one connection with the human incidents which elsewhere attend the birth of the Messiah — or his entrance upon his ministry — is offered by the introduction of John the Baptist, "the man sent from God . . . to bear witness of the Light."⁴ It is not exactly the Baptist we know so well; the gaunt hermit of the wilderness, whose strange mien and attire, and fiery reproof of Pharisees and Sadducees, publicans and sol-

¹ John i. 14.

² i. 17, 18.

³ This sharp distinction between the Christian revelation and all that had preceded it, and limitation of Christ's message to those who were able by nature to receive him and share in his sonship (i. 12, 13, 17), corresponds altogether with the Gnostic systems which we have been considering. Other points of resemblance will appear as we go on. I have no desire to make this out a Gnostic Gospel in any other sense than as being plainly the product of a movement which was producing at the same time the Gnostic schools. See Note KK.

⁴ i. 6, 7, 15, 19-36.

diers, make the most vivid sketch by far in the old Gospel picture;¹ not the half-despairing preacher of the kingdom, doubtful to the end whether Jesus of Nazareth were really "he that should come."² This John the Baptist knew the Messiah from the start; had known of him before he came;³ and appears before us but for a moment, to usher in the incarnate Son of God. The anchorite, the wild reformer, the preacher of righteousness, has become a shadow of himself, a ghostly form which passes for a moment before our eyes, speaks the language of the Alexandrian philosophy,⁴ points dramatically to "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world,"⁵ and disappears speedily from sight.⁶

In a Gospel thus opened we shall hardly expect much individuality in the various actors, or much definiteness of place or time. Phrases like "the next day," "the day following," "the third day," "after these things," occur here and

¹ Matt. iii. ; Luke iii.

² Matt. xi. 3.

³ John i. 29, 33.

⁴ i. 30.

⁵ i. 29.

⁶ The only further allusion to John the Baptist is in iii. 23-36, where he still appears as the mystic, Alexandrine philosopher. (For a striking comparison of the Baptist of our Gospel with the Baptist of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, see F. Tiffany, in *Institute Essays*, 223-226, Boston, 1880.)

there, but have nothing behind to give them meaning, and introduce a chronology which is absolutely vague throughout.¹ Men and women appear; but we must be prepared to find that they are as shadowy and intangible as the Baptist himself, and with even less part or concern in what occurs; that their conversation and actions are unreal, and that their presence simply affords occasion for the utterance of abstruse thoughts far beyond their comprehension, where speaker, listener, and narrator are forgotten in mystical and exalted monologue. The Messiah speaks in oracles; sometimes with no audience before him, and into the empty air; always as if looking beyond his hearers to the generations yet to come.² We are in a shadow world throughout, where the invisible, the ideal, the spiritual alone is real.

¹ John i. 29, 35, 43; ii. 1; v. 1; vi. 1; vii. 1; viii. 1, 2. The solitary instance of chronological exactness which this Gospel contains (iii. 24. Comp. Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 24, 7-13) is in flat contradiction of the older tradition. (Matt. iv. 12.) It is often as though the author set historic accuracy at defiance, to emphasize the more his purely spiritual purpose. The localities are as vague and undefined as the chronology. Some are otherwise unknown (i. 28; iii. 23); some suggest a possible allegorical significance. (iii. 23, "Ænon (Brunnen) verhält sich zu Salem (Heil) wie die Wassertaufe Johannis zur Geistestaufe Christi." Pfeiderer, 707 n.)

² iv. 23, 24; vii. 37, 38; xii. 44-50.

Even the humanities, the tenderest, pass for little here. At Cana of Galilee, where a marriage feast seems for the moment to lend a pleasant personal touch to the opening narrative, when the mother of Jesus ventures to tell her son that there is no wine for the guests, Jesus replies : "Woman, what have I to do with thee ? mine hour is not yet come."¹ Plainly, it is the Logos that speaks here, not the man. The whole scene indeed vanishes as we read. It is no real marriage ; it is the entry of the Messiah upon his wonder-working career. It is the "beginning of miracles," in which he "manifested forth his glory."²

The men and women of the narrative, as has been said, play no essential part in the course of events, but serve for the most part as occasions for philosophic discourse. At Jerusalem³ a certain Nicodemus, unknown to the other Gospels, comes stealthily into Jesus' presence

¹ John ii. 4.

² ii. 11.

³ Galilee, as has been said, has only an incidental connection with our history throughout. The Messiah appears there but seldom, never comes to Nazareth, begins his ministry at Jerusalem, and hastens back there at each juncture, as the fittest stage for his messianic activity. His first coming is heralded by the dramatic Temple incident, which in the other Gospels is placed at the close of his career. (ii. 13-17. Comp. Matt. xxi. 12, 13.)

at night. He has no real question of his own to propose ; the conversation, if such it can be called, is carried on on two distinct planes ; he shows no understanding of the Master's sententious speech ; he disappears forthwith from the scene, and is forgotten by the narrator before the chapter is finished.¹ But meantime his brief remark has afforded an opportunity for the Christ, quite regardless of Nicodemus's presence, to unfold the purely heavenly character of his mission. In the Gospel of Matthew on a similar occasion, as Jesus enters upon his ministry, we have the fine ethical precepts of the Sermon on the Mount ; here we listen instead to an unfathomable utterance upon the radical distinction between things of the flesh and things of the spirit. It is to the "spiritual" alone that the kingdom of heaven

¹ John iii. 1-9. So unimportant a part does Nicodemus take in this scene that it is impossible to tell just where the conversation ends. The same is to be said of the words of John the Baptist which follow, and which seem to pass imperceptibly into the language of the Evangelist or of Jesus himself. (22-36.) Nicodemus appears twice again, once in companionship with Joseph of Arimathæa (vii. 50-52; xix. 39); yet is nowhere mentioned in the other Gospels. Baur regards him solely as a type of half-believing Judaism; believing in the miracles, but belonging to the world of darkness, and so not receptive of the higher truth. (*Die kan. Evangelien*, 143.)

belongs : "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born from above,¹ he cannot see the kingdom of God. . . . That which is born of the flesh is flesh ; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." ² Christ's coming of itself brought out the vital antagonism between the creatures of darkness and the creatures of light : "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, . . . but he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest." ³ In these mystic words, hardly more intelligible to us than to Nicodemus himself, the whole mission of Jesus is lifted once for all from earthly to celestial spheres ; but before the discourse is ended, the hearer has passed wholly from our thought, and the result, so far as he is concerned, remains an unimportant matter of conjecture.⁴

¹ This word, *ἄνωθεν*, may also be translated, as in the common version, "again ;" but the original meaning, "from above" (as in verse 31), seems more in accord with the writer's thought. For the use of this passage by Justin Martyr, see Note LL.

² John iii. 3-8.

³ iii. 19-21.

⁴ The Nicodemus passage can be understood only as the

Again, as Jesus passes through Samaria, a woman meets him at a well. She is a woman of the people; of the lowest ranks of the people; even more impervious than Nicodemus himself to the higher truth. She can see in the Jewish stranger only a sorcerer, reading the forbidden secrets of her private life; the conversation between them is, as before, on two mutually inaccessible levels; the woman comes and goes as vaguely as Nicodemus; but none the less has elicited from the Christ the finest message of his Gospel, thrown out upon the air with none but a hardened woman to hear, and none to remember or report. "Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. . . . God is a Spirit: and they that worship

most definite expression on the writer's part of his constantly recurring antithesis of flesh and spirit, darkness and light, earth and heaven. The kingdom of God, according to this chapter, is not for all, but for those only who, through the waters of baptism, have received the spiritual birth. Christ comes indeed to save the world, but can reach those alone who belong by nature to him. His coming is itself the saving or condemnation of men; separating at once the lovers of darkness from the lovers of light. And this distinction is an absolute one, from which there is no escape. "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him." (John iii. 5, 17-21, 36.)

him must worship him in spirit and in truth." ¹ Where else in all literature do the material facts, the well, the water, the thirst, the woman, the husband, melt so completely into thin air, leaving only a spiritual essence behind? ²

Once for all, we must take these pages on their own ground, and catch from them the breath of that special age, if we would feel their power. If we seek here the charm or variety of historic incident, the nature-touch of parable, or even the burning tones of moral indignation or reproof, we look in vain. This is no chronicle, nor ethical treatise. In themselves these monologues, returning constantly to the same mystic theme, are strangely monotonous. It is only as they lift us with them into spiritual

¹ John iv. 1-26.

² I am not, of course, criticising the narrative, so intrinsically beautiful and elevating; but only pointing out its purely symbolic character. Baur finds in the woman of Samaria a type of receptive heathenism, as opposed to the unreceptive Judaism typified in Nicodemus. (*Evang.*, 142-147.) Pfeiderer thinks the story an obvious allegory, based on 2 Kings xvii. 24-42; the five husbands symbolizing the five heathen worships in Samaria, the sixth the equally illegitimate Judaism. (*Urchrist.*, 708. See Josephus, *Ant.*, ix. 14, 3.) To me it seems more natural to suppose all these incidents veritable parts of the Gospel tradition, as known to our author, and used as best he can to unfold the character of his ideal Christ.

reverie that we discover their true force. This is especially true when familiar scenes from Gospel history pass now and then before us. The Jewish Sabbath is violated, as in the other Gospels. In them, as we remember, it calls forth fine moral precepts, and is made to inculcate lessons of beneficence and right. "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath." "Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the sabbath days."¹ Here it serves instead as a text for a theological disquisition, carrying us once again into the deepest mysteries of the Godhead. The Jews who throng around the Messiah in the streets of Jerusalem listen to a discourse on certain transcendent distinctions between the Father and the Son. Far from resting on the Sabbath, says the Christ, God works continually; and the Son also works.² The Son reflects the being of the Father: "What things soever the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise."³ He is absolutely dependent on the Father: "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the

¹ Mark ii. 27; Matt. xii. 12.

² John v. 17. Comp. Philo, *Leg. Alleg.*, i. 3. "God never ceases working; but as it is the nature of fire to burn, and of snow to chill, so also does it belong to God to be doing."

³ v. 19.

Father do." "I can of mine own self do nothing : . . . because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me."¹ Yet the Son claims equal honor with the Father.² In his hands, indeed, is the divine judgment ; for his voice calls even the dead to life, and separates forever the believer from the unbeliever, assigning the one to eternal life, the other to "the resurrection of damnation."³ Had the Jews understood their own Scriptures, they would have found all this concealed there ; for beneath the letter was a hidden message. "They testify of me."⁴ All testimony of the past points to the Christ.

The Christ of this Gospel may be of the Jewish race, or he may not ; we cannot tell. He is called "Jesus of Nazareth ;"⁵ he passes as a Jew ;⁶ he is the son of Joseph, whose father and mother all know ;⁷ he quotes from Jewish Scriptures ;⁸ there is a story that he has come out of Galilee.⁹ Yet, on the other hand, he speaks of Galilee as if it were not his own country ;¹⁰ and throughout the entire Gospel, the Jews are men-

¹ John v. 19, 30.

² v. 23.

³ v. 29.

⁴ v. 39, 46.

⁵ i. 45.

⁶ iv. 9.

⁷ vi. 42.

⁸ v. 39, 46 ; viii. 56 ; x. 34, 35 ; xii. 41.

⁹ vii. 41.

¹⁰ iv. 44.

tioned as if of a foreign race. They are always "the Jews."¹ Even the Christ himself, in addressing the Jews, speaks of "your law," and "your father Abraham."² He goes still farther: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him."³ For the Logos, it would seem, the eternal Son of God, all questions of race or fatherhood or nation are of too slight account to be considered.

But other things beside places and individuals melt away under this spiritualizing process. One of the marked peculiarities of our Gospel is its

¹ John i. 19; ii. 13, 20; v. 1, 10, 18; vi. 41.

² viii. 56; x. 34; xv. 25.

³ viii. 44. The last clause of this verse may be read: "He is a liar, and his father also;" thus affording, as many commentators think, a reminiscence of the Gnostic doctrine of Satan as son of the Demiurge. (Hilgenfeld, *Evang. und Brief Johan.*, 160; O. Holtzmann, *Johan. Evang.*, 80 n.) In any case, the children of God and the children of the Devil, including the Jews as a whole and the world in general, are placed here in radical contrast. (Comp. Baur, *Evang.*, 176; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 151.) The Devil appears in this Gospel as the great foe of the Christ. He is the "Archon of this world," who is to hold his own till the Logos appears to cast him out. (xiv. 30; xvi. 11; xii. 31.) This essential antagonism, which runs through all the Gnostic systems, runs through our Gospel as well, and is fundamental to its thought.

strange silence in regard to the Lord's Supper. It seems at first glance to know nothing of this incident whatever. The disciples gather at supper, it is true, on the night before the crucifixion;¹ but the evening passes without any allusion to the rite which the Christian Church has ever since associated so closely with those closing hours. Can it be that the tradition, although so widely known among the churches, had not reached the author of this Gospel?² Or is it left unmentioned because he would have his readers disregard the outward form of this historic rite, and see in it only its latent sense? If he refers to the Supper at all, this must be the explanation; and one of the early chapters of the Gospel seems to force us to this conclusion. No supper is mentioned there, nor any actual bread or wine. Jesus is in the synagogue at Capernaum. Below are the Jewish multitudes, with minds still intent upon the miraculous loaves on which they had been fed, and clamor-

¹ John xiii.-xvii.

² If the author was familiar with the Epistles of Paul, he must have known of this rite. (1 Cor. xi. 23-34.) In the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, the Eucharist appears also as an established rite (9, 10). There is little to prove that the author was acquainted with Paul; though a few passages look somewhat like it. (Comp. Rom. vi. 16, and John viii. 34; Jülicher, *Einleit.*, 248.)

ing for some new sign, like the falling of the manna in the wilderness; above, the Christ, engaged in lofty speech which even the disciples cannot comprehend.¹ In most narratives it would be bewildering to find allusions to a solemn rite like the Eucharist, before its establishment,² and addressed to an assembly for whom the Eucharist could have no meaning; but here it does not surprise us at all. Time and place, flesh and blood, bread and wine, are but symbols at best of a diviner reality. The

¹ John vi. 25-59, 60, 66.

² In these mystic utterances it is, of course, impossible to determine with certainty how much or how little is historic reality. Many commentators refuse to see any reference whatever to the Eucharist here. Meyer (in the Commentary on this passage) finds an allusion to the Cross, instead of the Lord's Supper. Renan regards this discourse as the real origin of the ideas afterwards incorporated in the Eucharist, and thinks this Gospel more historical in this respect than the others. (*Life of Jesus*, 442, Boston, 1896.) It seems, on the whole, more probable that the writer has the Eucharist actually in view, and indeed regards both Eucharist and Baptism as rites essential for the communication of the divine spirit, but makes the spiritual import paramount. (iii. 5; vi. 53.) It is plain from Paul's account how grossly the observance was often practiced. (1 Cor. xi. 21, 22, 34.) Our Evangelist insists upon a nobler conception. "One," says Philo, "raises his eyes to heaven, beholding the manna, the divine Logos, the heavenly incorruptible food of the enraptured soul; the other sees only the leeks and onions of Egypt." (*Quis Rer. Her.*, 15; *Leg. Alleg.*, iii. 59.)

only true manna is the "bread of God ; he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world." "I am that bread of life. Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead. . . . I am the living bread which came down from heaven : if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever : and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." "Verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. . . . For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." These forms and words are nothing ; it is the spirit alone that tells. "It is the spirit that quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing : the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life."¹

Even the miracles of this Gospel, like other outward incidents, lose their verisimilitude, and become themselves but symbols. They are no less vivid or genuine than elsewhere, they are apparently quite as historical, and are often even more realistic in their details ;² but while in Matthew, Mark, and Luke the tenderness or beneficence of the act itself challenges our attention, here the act always serves some ulte-

¹ John vi. 33, 48-51, 53-55, 63.

² v. 5 ; vi. 5-13 ; ix. 6.

rior purpose, for which alone it is introduced. It becomes expository or didactic ; it points a moral ; it affords a starting-point for a theological discourse, or the discussion of abstract and inscrutable truths. Of what moment is it in such a narrative, the writer seems to say, that the hungry multitudes are fed, or the blind made to see, or even the dead raised to life ; it is not the thing itself, but the something symbolized that we are to remember.¹ A man born blind sits by the wayside as Jesus and his disciples pass. The Master stops, makes clay to anoint the eyes of the sufferer, and bids him "go, wash in the pool of Siloam," and be healed.² A beautiful act of helpfulness, which touches our deepest sympathies, and on which we would gladly dwell. But no ; it is not the physical blindness that we are to be moved by, but the spiritual. It is "that the works of God may be manifest in him," that he has been healed.³ The blind man escapes from a lifetime of darkness to proclaim obscure truths, and enunciate the author's dogmas. The Christ is shown thereby to be "the light of the world." "As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world." "For judgment I am come into this

¹ John vi. 27 ; v. 17, 18.

² ix. 1-7.

³ ix. 3.

world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind."¹ The passing touch of the human and the real disappears at once in the theological and ideal.

Again, a dear friend of Jesus dies. The Master's relations with the whole household are peculiarly tender, and as he approaches the bereft home he is deeply moved. For a moment, one single moment, the stately march of the narrative is disturbed, the Logos is forgotten, and a living man stands before us. Jesus weeps. Yet only for a moment. All has been prearranged, we find at once; the bitter trial was known and intended from the beginning. "When Jesus heard that, he said, This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God might be glorified thereby." The Master still tarries two days in the same place, though knowing that his friend's death approaches. Then he says to his disciples: "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth; but I go, that I may awake him out of sleep. . . . And I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent ye may believe; nevertheless let us go unto him."² When the grave is opened, and the dead comes forth, it is that the people that stand by might "see the glory of God," and

¹ John ix. 5, 39.

² xi. 4, 6, 11-15.

believe that this was "the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world." It was a token in advance of his own resurrection, which was to overcome death for all who believe.¹ I am not for a moment criticising this scene. No interpretation can rob it of its dignity or pathos. I am only calling attention to the character of a Gospel in which, even in moments like this, the historic fact loses itself so completely in its speculative import.²

Again, false leaders are troubling the church as this Gospel is written; teachers of strange doctrines; false Messiahs, perhaps, such as were long ago predicted.³ All these, and indeed all previous teachers, says our Gospel, are but thieves and robbers; they are like hireling shepherds, fleeing from danger, and forgetting the safety of their flocks. "All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers: but the sheep did not hear them. . . . I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. . . . I am the good shepherd and know my sheep, and am known of mine. As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father: and I lay down my life for the sheep."⁴ These are charming human touches, and bring the

¹ John xi. 25, 40, 42.

² Note MM.

³ Matt. xxiv. 24.

⁴ x. 1-15.

Christ very near to earth ; but only to lift us at once to the clouds again. The good shepherd is the Logos ; clothed with the very power of the Father. If he lays down his life, he has power to take it up again when he will. He can impart to his own eternal life. He shares in the very essence of the Father. "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me. And I give unto them eternal life. . . . My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all. . . . I and my Father are one."¹ The Jews, to whom Jesus addressed these words, cry out against such a blasphemous assumption, and take up stones to stone him : "For a good work we stone thee not ; but for blasphemy ; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God."² And a vast assumption it was, if this were the Jewish Messiah of the earlier Gospels. Not so with the Logos ; in whose mystic relations with Deity the old messianic notions have been forgotten. Do not his mighty works prove his supernal nature ? Do not their own Scriptures represent God as surrounded by heavenly hosts, and rank even Jewish and heathen rulers as gods ? How much more could he whom the Father had sent into the world claim to be the very Son of God.³

¹ John x. 18 ; 27-30.

² x. 33.

³ x. 34-38.

In these exalted moods, the imagination rarely concerns itself with precise definitions; and we cannot expect our author to show us the exact relations which this celestial being holds to the Infinite. Certainly he does not do so. Perhaps he had not formulated them in his own mind. These thoughts were still new; and the Christian mind had not yet entered upon those subtler distinctions which afterwards became so familiar, and were supposed to reconcile all contradictions, and remove all impossibilities. Meantime, so far as this Gospel is concerned, these contradictions stand, in all simplicity, side by side. The Son once rested in the bosom of the Father, and was with him "before the world was;"¹ he was sent down to the earth and became flesh;² like God, he "had life in himself;" he hath all judgment committed to him, and "quickeneth whom he will;"³ he is of the Father's essence, and is himself divine;⁴ yet at the same time, he "can do nothing of himself;"⁵ he can do and speak only as the Father has taught him;⁶ and never ceases to declare his dependence upon the Father who sent him, and whose will alone he has come to perform.⁷

¹ John xvii. 5, 24.

² i. 14; x. 36.

³ v. 26, 21, 22.

⁴ x. 30; i. 1.

⁵ v. 19.

⁶ viii. 28, 29; x. 18.

⁷ iv. 34; v. 19, 30, 36; vi. 38; vii. 16; viii. 28; x. 37; xii. 49.

By and by this will not be enough ; and the Son's august relations with the Father must be formally catalogued and established. As yet they belong to the sphere, not of logic, but of pure spiritual imagination.

But the story is not yet fully told. Insubstantial as are the scenes of this life in Judæa, it has like all others, if not an earthly beginning, at least an earthly close. Though there is no place in this Gospel for the struggle or agony of Gethsemane, though the cruel end has been foreshadowed from the outset,¹ though the Son of God need not fear death, but has power even to raise himself from the grave,² though he has come into the world simply to manifest, in his coming and going, the divine counsels,³ this cannot prevent a certain solemnity gathering over the closing hours, as of souls charged with momentous secrets. The familiar scenes of the earlier Gospels flit bewilderingly before our eyes ; the same, yet strangely different ; like the broken, inconsequent apparitions of a dream.

Though the Christ has gone daily in and out of Jerusalem during the two or three years of his ministry, he enters now as a stranger, and with the palm branches of a victor. Though never appearing before as the Jewish Messiah,

¹ John ii. 19-22 ; iii. 14.

² x. 18.

³ xvi. 28.

he suddenly becomes the "king of Israel," is received with shouts and songs, and seated upon an ass, as in ancient prophecy.¹ Though his death is necessarily but a transient incident, and his burial can be therefore but for a moment, he is none the less anointed for his burial; not, indeed, as in other narratives, by a sinful woman, but by Mary, the loved sister of Lazarus, who wipes his feet with her hair.² A vague trouble, as of Gethsemane, passes over his soul; yet brings no heart-broken supplication, — "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me."³ No; but a far more triumphant strain: "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour? but for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name."⁴ His life has already reached its predestined close; and what follows has no terror, because no human reality. "Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me."⁵

He meets his disciples for a final repast; yet not as in the other Gospels at the Passover, for

¹ John xii. 12-15.

² xii. 1-7; Luke vii. 37, 38.

³ Matt. xxvi. 39.

⁴ xii. 27, 28.

⁵ xii. 31, 32.

the real Paschal lamb is to be offered on the morrow;¹ nor yet to establish a covenant or initiate a rite. Beginning with a beautiful symbol of humility, in which the washing of his disciples' feet is sublimated into the tie which binds the Son to the Father, and the disciples to each other, and to their Master,² he fills the hours of the feast with long discourse, in which the mystic speech of the Gospel reaches its height; culminating in a vision of those whom the Father has given him as with him in heavenly places, and beholding the glory which has been his from the beginning.³

All this, we feel, is not the work of a falsifier, far though he wanders from the ancient narratives. It is rather the work of one to whom the facts of the Judæan ministry, as he has learned them, are divinely significant, and to whom the hidden meaning of such events is alone of real account. It is impressive enough, this fine disdain of the letter which killeth; this absolute absorption in the spirit which giveth life. It points us to many deep truths, and gives a sublime interpretation to the story of the Christ. The process has its perilous side, it must be confessed; and one who commits himself to

¹ John xiii. 1, 2; xviii. 28; xix. 14.

² xiii. 4-15; xvii. 21.

³ xvii. 24.

it must bid farewell once for all to the historic sense, to which the commonest facts are of infinite worth. It removes these divine events from the path of human history. Were this the only record which had survived, we might well deplore its uncompromising mysticism, and long for a touch of the human and the real. But it is not ; and we can enjoy its spiritual interpretations without reserve.

Among many points of resemblance to the earlier Gospels which this writing contains, there is one feature wholly peculiar to itself. It comes towards the close. The time approaches when the Son of God must depart. His earthly work is ended, and his disciples will see him no more. "I came forth from the Father," he says, "and am come into the world : again, I leave the world, and go to the Father."¹ He speaks of no return upon the clouds, or messianic reign on earth. Yet he promises the disciples that he will not leave them wholly alone. The divine resources are infinite ; the angelic hosts numberless. Among them is one whose function it is to take the place of the Logos when he departs. It is the Paraclete ; a celestial being unknown to other writers of the New Testament, but evidently familiar to the

¹ John xvi. 28.

readers of this Gospel.¹ As in other systems of the period, this divine agent has many names. He is called now the Spirit of truth ; now the Holy Ghost ; now he seems hardly distinguishable from the Logos himself.² Yet his character and functions are clearly marked. He is a direct effluence from the Almighty,³ sent to the world to fill the place of the Logos, and able to come only after the Logos has left the earth, but then to remain with the believer forever. "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Helper, that he may abide with you for ever." "It is expedient for you that I go away : for if I go not away, the Paraclete will not come unto you ; but if I depart, I will send him unto you."⁴ He is to disclose to the disciples the secret meaning of truths which they had been slow to comprehend, and reveal the

¹ John xiv. 16. The name Paraclete, translated in our version "Comforter," is not found elsewhere in the New Testament, except in 1 John ii. 1, a writing closely related to our Gospel. Its proper meaning is "helper," or "advocate." In the writings of Philo, it is one of the epithets of the Logos. (*De Mund. Opif.*, 6 ; *Vit. Mos.*, iii. 14.) In the Gnostic theophanies of the time, the Paraclete is one of the many Æons. (Iren. i. 1, 2 ; Hipp. vi. 30.) Origen seems to have been the first to give the word the meaning of Comforter. (*Prin.*, ii. 7.)

² xiv. 17, 26, 16.

³ xv. 26.

⁴ xiv. 16 ; xvi. 7.

new teachings which till then they had not been prepared to hear. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. . . . But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you."¹ The Paraclete has ceased to be a familiar name to our ears, that of Holy Ghost having early superseded it in Christian theology; but its presence on these pages is an interesting reminiscence of a movement which long agitated the church, and gives them an individuality distinctly their own.²

This closing discourse, though so profoundly mystical in its spirit, is not without its touches of deep affection, passing at times, as the highest thought so often does, into tones of passionate tenderness. He commends to the Father, in words of great sublimity, those whom he has chosen as his own.³ His love for them is even as the Father's love for him, who loved him "before the foundation of the world." His prayer is for them alone, and such as believed in him through their word.⁴ The world had not listened to him or heard his voice, therefore

¹ John xiv. 26; xvi. 4, 12, 13.

³ xvii. 1-26.

² Note NN.

⁴ xvii. 6, 9, 20.

could have no place in his remembrance ; but all the more are his disciples, sanctified through the truth, and sharing his heavenly glory, to become one in him. He even declares : "The glory which thou gavest me I have given them ; that they may be one, even as we are one : I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfect in one." ¹

It may seem strange to us that the "love" which so pervades these farewell words, and forms as it were their special note, should not embrace the entire world. The writer has freed himself wholly from the Jewish limitations which characterize the earlier Gospels ;² why does he stop short with the little circle of the elect ? We cannot answer this question. We can only

¹ John xvii. 22, 23.

² x. 16 ; xi. 52. Comp. Matt. x. 6, 7 ; xv. 24. As one indication of the wider outlook of this Gospel, it has been calculated that the word kosmos (*κόσμος*) is found in Matthew, Mark, and Luke fifteen times ; in the Fourth Gospel seventy-eight times. (Holtzmann, *Einleit.*, 447.) Now and then this word seems to receive its widest significance (vi. 51 ; xii. 47. Comp., also, i. 7 ; xi. 52) ; but in critical passages it has the limitations given it in xvii. 9. The same uncertain attitude is to be noted in Paul's writings. (Comp. Rom. xi. 32 ; 1 Cor. xv. 22, 28 ; Col. i. 20, with 1 Cor. xv. 23 ; 2 Thess. i. 7-9 ; ii. 10-12.)

See Toy's *Judaism*, p. 407 ; Everett's *Gospel of Paul*, 272, 273.

accept the fact as one illustration the more that the thoughts of one age are not the thoughts of another, and must not be forced upon another. Many conceptions which eighteen centuries of human activity have made familiar were just suggesting themselves to the second century; and even the mystic, it seems, could not rise wholly above the horizon of his time.¹ In any case, Christendom had still long to wait, as we know, for the thought of God as concerning himself equally for all his creatures.

The closing incidents of the Messiah's life, while following in general the familiar traditions, and adding some important details,² resemble the earlier narratives rather as ghostly forms resemble living figures. The conversation with Pilate, though addressed to Roman ears, is an echo of the theological discourses which have preceded: "My kingdom is not of this world. . . . To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the

¹ This distinction between the elect, or "spiritual," and the non-spiritual is found in all the Gnostic writings of the period. Comp. pp. 157, 165, 172, 189.

² John xix. 9, 13, 34. The mystic flow of blood and water has evidently some symbolic significance; possibly connected with Zech. xii. 10. Comp. Rev. i. 7. (Pfleiderer, *Urchrist.*, 773.)

truth heareth my voice.”¹ The guards who accompany Judas, as they heard the voice of the Christ, “went backward, and fell to the ground.”² There are no human revulsions before the fatal hour, nor any real sufferings at the end. The ideal death,³ not the real, was the supreme hour in this tragedy. No cries of anguish come from the cross, no despairing words: “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?”⁴ The celestial visitor announces with a word the end of his mission, and departs. “He said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost.”⁵

¹ John xviii. 36, 37.

² xviii. 6.

³ xii. 23, 31; xvii. 1, 4.

⁴ See Note OO, for these docetic features.

⁵ xix. 30. The Gospel has two endings, as though it had circulated in two different forms. After a formal closing paragraph, stating the theological purpose of the book (xx. 30, 31), another chapter was some time added, which, though found in all the manuscripts, has to be treated as supplementary. Some explain its singular character by referring it to a time when the claims of the Apostles Peter and John had come into conflict and had to be reconciled. Peter is restored to the standing he had lost by the touching command (three times repeated, to correspond with the three-fold denial), “Feed my sheep;” while the mysterious “disciple whom Jesus loved” is exalted to a still more mystic position by the words, “If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?” (xxi. 15-22.) See Pfleiderer, *Urchrist.*, 741, etc.; Jülicher, *Einleit.*, 240; Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age.*, ii. 207.

So, by the middle of the second century, a fourth Gospel takes its place beside the other three, destined, in so far as it is accepted at all, to open wide the doors of the young faith to the entrance of mysticism.¹ It would be impossible to overrate its power, or be blind to the splendid assurance and sustained imaginative force with which it lifts the entire earthly scenery of Christianity into visionary spheres. The dividing line between the seen and unseen was less sharply drawn then than now, and many questions which force themselves upon our thought were not even asked. In an age when a human emperor, with more than the foibles of ordinary humanity, could be seriously worshiped after death as a god; when Olympus, a well-known mountain in Greece, had hardly ceased to be regarded as the abode of all the gods, or Jupiter to be revered as the supreme divinity, though sharing the basest human passions, it was quite possible, no doubt, to think of the life in Galilee as real, and yet conceive this sublime dream-world, in which the Logos, the eternal companion of Deity, steps down for the hour, inhabits a human form, allows his enemies to heap upon him indignities which touch him not, then passes back into heavenly

¹ Note PP (Fourth Gospel).

realms, leaving a subordinate Æon in his place. If Paul could imagine the Galilæan preacher, who had died but yesterday, and whose daily companions he had known and talked with, to be the very "Lord from heaven," still more easily, no doubt, could the writer of this Gospel, who had held no such living relations with Master or Apostles, view those sacred hours in their purely celestial aspects.

We cannot quarrel with one who has added so exalted a page to the world's religious literature, or asserted so sublimely the rights of the spirit to claim all things as its own. Man's spiritual history, Christianity itself, would hardly be complete had this page not been written, and written by one to whom this was the truth of truths. We must not quarrel, either, with the place he has won for his Gospel in Christian hearts ; or the success with which he has effaced the earlier records, and made his interpretation supreme. It could hardly be otherwise, perhaps, so long as the love of the marvelous reigns in the human soul, or the pressure of stern spiritual problems drives humanity into the arms of the ideal. If religious truth is a thing which must never be looked squarely in the face, then indeed these pious endeavors to soften the hard outlines of reality cannot lose their value ; and

the Fourth Gospel will still hold its place as the consummate flowering of Christian faith. Among certain schools, as we know, this mystic volume is the saving of Christianity, rescuing its facts from their sordid literalness. It is the keynote of Christian philosophy. To them, as to the writer of this Gospel, the unseen alone is real. According to their faith, the pre-existent Logos, eternal effluence from Deity, alone renders possible the communion of the human with the divine. Without the Logos, man and God remain forever apart. The metaphysical necessities of philosophy dominate the spiritual necessities of the soul, and the Fourth Gospel becomes in such hands an imperious occultism, summing up once for all God's message to the world. Fortunately it is not necessary to contest this point here. In an age when the historic temper and the scientific spirit, unknown in those primeval days, have come at last to their rights, such a question may safely be left for the future to decide. For those of us who cannot for a moment accept any single writing as the last word of Christianity, the beauty and poetry of this Gospel still retain their charm, and it stands as an eloquent chapter of Christian history.

But it is a chapter only, not the whole. If

the mystic interpretation of the life of Jesus was beautiful, that life was also beautiful; the more beautiful, the more distinctly its actual features are seen. Its secret lies in its reality. To that earthly life all abstract theories owe whatever significance they possess; and when one speculation after another has had its day and been forgotten, it is the life itself which will remain as the supreme message of Christianity to the race.

Viewed in this light, these four Gospels form a unique record of momentous hours. Neither can take the place of the other. Without the Fourth Gospel, we should never have known the rapturous dreams which the young faith could excite, or the daring ideals it could create; with the Fourth Gospel alone, we should never have guessed that Jesus of Nazareth led a human life, ending in a human tragedy. For this knowledge we must still turn to those homelier chronicles in which facts, too, have their rights, and which claim for themselves no nobler function than to record ingenuously the comings and goings of one sacred year in Galilee.

APPENDIX

Note A, p. 4. *Papias*. All dates of this period have to be given cautiously, as there were no exact records. The earliest allusions to Papias associate him with Polycarp,¹ who, according to the latest investigations, died in 155 or 166.² This would simply place Papias in the early part of the second century; but a single expression in a fragment of his writings lately discovered enables us to be a little more precise. In speaking of certain persons raised from the dead by Christ, he says, "they lived until Hadrian."³ As monarchs are not spoken of in this way till after their death, Papias cannot, according to this, have written his work before 138. Most authorities place it somewhere between 130 and 160. Harnack says, 140-160;⁴ Holtzmann says, "after Hadrian;"⁵ Hilgenfeld puts Papias's death at 163;⁶ Jülicher at 165;⁷ Zahn thinks

¹ Irenæus, *Hær.*, v. 33, 4; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 36, 1 and 2. Eusebius is perhaps simply following Irenæus.

² Harnack, *Chronologie der altch. Literatur*, i. 335, 342.

³ *Neue Fragmente des Papias*, etc., C. de Boor, Gebhardt und Harnack, p. 170. Comp. Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 3, 2.

⁴ *Chron.*, i. 357.

⁵ *Einleit. ins N. Test.*, p. 94.

⁶ *Einleit. ins N. Test.*, p. 52.

⁷ *Einleit. ins N. Test.*, p. 189.

Papias wrote about 125, or, "quite as likely," after 138.¹

Note B, p. 5. Eusebius, "Hist. Ecclesiastica," iii. 39, 1, "λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις." "λόγια," as used at this time, differed from "λόγοι" very much as "Sayings" differ from mere "words" or "remarks." They were phrases which had attained some fixed, or perhaps authoritative or ceremonial form. In our New Testament "λόγια" appears but seldom, and exclusively, with perhaps one exception, in the sense of prophetic or divine utterances from the Old Testament.² The "words of the Lord Jesus," in the New Testament, were always "λόγοι."³ Clem. Romanus, who wrote about the end of the first century, also contented himself with "λόγοι" in referring to the "words of the Lord Jesus,"⁴ reserving the more sacred "λόγια" for the venerated Prophets of the ancient times.⁵ By Papias's time, it would seem, or at least at his hands, the words of Jesus have come to rank with the older prophecies as divine "Sayings."⁶ See Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon, "λόγια."

¹ *Kanonsgeschichte*, i. 801, 867.

² Rom. iii. 2; Acts vii. 38; Heb. v. 12; 1 Pet. iv. 11.

³ Acts xx. 35; Mark viii. 38; xiii. 31.

⁴ 1 Cor. xiii. 1; xlv. 7.

⁵ 1 Cor. xiii. 4; xix. 1; liii. 1.

⁶ Comp. Polycarp, vii. 1; Justin Martyr, *Trypho*, 18; Iren. i. 8, 1; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. 5. 4.

Note C, p. 6. It is interesting to note that Papias has to do here with a current of tradition otherwise wholly unknown to Christian writers. Aristion and John the Presbyter, such important personages in his eyes, and standing almost on the same footing with the Apostles, are never even mentioned elsewhere. The group of Presbyters of whom he speaks so familiarly, and to whom he owes so much of his information, remain also a mystery. Irenæus, to be sure, speaks in much the same way of the "Presbyters," but is apparently drawing at second hand from Papias.¹ Possibly, at that time or in this region, all survivors of the apostolic circle, or apostolic period, were called "elders," as handing down the apostolic tradition.²

Note D, p. 9. This "Gospel according to the Hebrews," of which Eusebius speaks, awakens a curiosity which unfortunately cannot be wholly gratified. Such a gospel is known to have been in circulation among the Hebrew-speaking Christians for four or five centuries, and apparently to have been the only one used by them;³ it may perhaps have been the oldest Christian Gospel, and

¹ *Har.*, ii. 22, 5; iv. 27, 1 and 2; v. 5, 1; 33, 3; 36, 1.

² Euseb. iii. 3, 1; v. 8, 1; vi. 14, 5; also, Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, ii. 332; Lightfoot, *Essays on Super. Religion*, 145; Harnack, *Chron.*, i. 333 n.

³ Iren., *Har.*, iii. 1, 1; Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, ii. 9; Euseb. iii. 25, 5; 27, 4; iv. 22, 8; vi. 25, 4.

the source in some unknown way from which our Matthew was drawn;¹ yet we are little better acquainted with it than if it had never existed. Its history has been most singular, and possible only under a chaotic condition of Gospel literature quite inconceivable to us. The extracts from it show that it was of a most archaic type, strangely unlike our Gospels; yet in spite of this, it was unhesitatingly ascribed to Matthew, without any sense of incongruity. Jerome, in the fourth century, considered it important enough to translate into Greek and Latin, thinking at the time, apparently, that it was the work of Matthew, and half inclined to think so after finishing his translation.² The real relation of this primitive Gospel to the canonical Matthew is one of the unsolved problems of criticism. Harnack declares it wrapped in darkness, and proceeds to give very clearly what we "do not know" about it.³ For a reconstruction of the Gospel from the few citations in early writers, see Zahn, "Kanonsgesch.," ii. 686-704. Compare, also, Handmann, "Hebräer-Evang.," 1888.

Note E, p. 9. Eusebius, "Hist. Ecc.," iii. 39, 6. It must be remembered that it is Eusebius, not

¹ Iren., *Hær.*, iii. 1, 1; Origen in Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, vi. 25, 4. Comp. Schweigler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, i. 202; Reuss, *Hist. of N. Test.*, i. 199; Zahn, *Kanonsgesch.*, ii. 642.

² *De Vir. Ill.*, 2, 3. The whole story appears in Frothingham's translation of De Wette's *Introd. to N. Test.*, §§ 64, 65.

³ *Chron.*, i. 694 n.

Papias, who refers in this passage to the Apocalypse. The authorship of the book was much questioned in those days, and Eusebius evidently shares in the doubts regarding it.¹ Papias has nothing to say about the Apocalypse, but we have reason to infer from his millennial ideas that he was acquainted with it.² His historian's silence on this point, if he is silent, weakens the argument, no doubt, drawn from his silence as to Luke and John. This chance remark about the Presbyter John — an altogether tantalizing personality — has given his name great vogue in recent controversies about both Apocalypse and Fourth Gospel.

Note F, p. 20. This testimony of Papias to our New Testament Gospels, which I have given so briefly, but I trust fairly, has caused more strife among biblical scholars than almost any other question. As their opinions are of course far more important than mine, I add here a short statement of them. Conservative critics in general hold that the omission of Luke and John in these fragmentary accounts was accidental only, and that Papias shows plainly enough his acquaintance with all our four Gospels; yet to deduce this from his language requires various and very conflicting hypotheses on their part. One claims that our Gospel of Matthew, originally in Greek, was current at this time in a Hebrew translation for Nazarene churches, and that Papias, and Jerome as well, mistook this for the ori-

¹ Comp. vii. 25.

² iii. 39, 11 and 12.

ginal Matthew.¹ Another thinks that the primitive Gospel, as it came from the Apostle Matthew's hands, was a Hebrew collection of the Lord's discourses, as Papias calls it, but that it soon grew into its present form, our Matthew being unquestionably a translation.² Another still that, although our Matthew cannot be a translation from the Hebrew Matthew described by Papias, nor our Mark the same Mark which he mentions, none the less Matthew and Mark must have reached their present form long before Papias's time.³

Among less traditional commentators, one holds that Papias had no Gospel of Matthew in mind, but only a Hebrew collection of "Sayings," ascribed to Matthew, which has come down to us in the form of our much transformed and enlarged Greek version.⁴ Another believes the Gospel of the Hebrews to be the original form of Gospel literature out of which the canonical Matthew and, ultimately, Mark grew, while the writing of Mark described by Papias corresponded probably with the antique Preaching of Peter.⁵ Another that Papias was acquainted with a complete Hebrew Gospel, descending indirectly from the Apostle Matthew, and becoming afterwards our Matthew,

¹ Tischendorf, *Orig. of Four Gospels*, 182, 184.

² Meyer on Matt., *Kommentar.*, 3-14. 1853.

³ De Wette, *Introd. to N. Test.*, §§ 97-100.

⁴ Schleiermacher, *Werke*, ii. 361-393.

⁵ Bauer, *Kanon. Evang.*, 535, 572; also, Schweigler, *Nachapros. Zeitalter*, i. 457.

but of which in Papias's time there was no authorized translation.¹ Another traces by elaborate critical processes a forgotten Matthew and forgotten Mark hidden under our present Gospels, and believes these the primitive documents to which Papias refers.² Others still discover as many successive layers over the archaic Mark as Dörpfeld has found at Hissarlik over the original Troy, and arranged somewhat after the following fashion: 1. Primitive notes taken down by Mark. 2. A finished draft from these notes by another hand and with later additions. 3. A primitive Matthew, corresponding with the "Sayings" of which Papias speaks. 4. A Deutero-Matthew, combining these "Sayings" with Mark's draft. 5. A Trito-Matthew, corresponding with our Matthew. 6. Our Mark, based on all the preceding.³ Other discussions of the subject can be found in Renan, "Hist. des Origines," vi. 124; v. 79 n, 120 n, 175 n; "Supernatural Religion," i. 449, etc.; Keim, "Jesus of Nazara," i. 219; "Urchristenthum," 221; Jülicher, "Einleit. ins Neue Testament," 295; Lightfoot, "Essays on Supernatural Religion."

In view of these distracting hypotheses, which could be indefinitely multiplied, it would be quite superfluous to attempt any definite conclusion of the matter. So far as the present treatise is con-

¹ Hilgenfeld, *Einleit.*, 53-65, 452-520.

² Holtzmann, *Synop. Evang.*, 128, 248, 270, 368.

³ Scholten, *Das älteste Evangelium*, 240-252; Weiffenbach, *Die Papias-Fragmente*, 112, 116, 120-131.

cerned, it is sufficient to remember that Papias, our earliest authority for Matthew or Mark, declares that Matthew (as was certainly natural) wrote in Hebrew, while our Matthew is in Greek; that Mark reported certain fragmentary discourses of Peter, while our Mark's Gospel is a formal chronicle of the ministry of Jesus; and that if Papias had any acquaintance whatever with our four Gospels, he attached no final authority to them.

Note G, p. 22. *Clement of Rome*. This epistle, commonly called the First Epistle of Clement, is headed in the original manuscripts simply: "To the Corinthians." It is, therefore, an anonymous writing; but as just such an epistle is known to Irenæus¹ and Clement of Alexandria,² and ascribed by them to Clement of Rome or to the Roman church of his time, the argument for its genuineness becomes very strong. For historic purposes, it makes little difference whether the otherwise unknown Clement wrote it himself or not, so long as it represents that special epoch; and if we are to hold by any of these early post-apostolic writings, none has greater claim than this. As it seems hardly probable that all the writings of this period should have been lost, it is easier, on the whole, to suppose the genuine ones to have survived than the fictitious. Eusebius evidently has little doubt about it himself, though he finds it necessary to

¹ *Har.*, iii. 3, 3.

² *Strom.*, i. 7; iv. 17.

defend its authenticity.¹ The testimony of Hegeppus and Dionysius is of less account, as we cannot be sure that they are speaking of this Epistle.²

The so-called Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians is no longer considered genuine, and belongs to a later period.

The genuineness of the First Epistle is claimed, among many others, by Hilgenfeld, Pfleiderer, Weizsäcker, Renan, Harnack, J. Réville. Schweigler pronounces it spurious, as being Pauline, while the real Clement was a follower of Peter, and as being later than Hebrews.³ The author of "Supernatural Religion" considers the quotation from Judith decisive,⁴ and places it at about A. D. 120. Neander thinks it "genuine in the main, but not exempt from important interpolations."⁵ Renan says: "Few writings are equally authentic."⁶ Lightfoot: "Very few writings of classical or Christian antiquity are so well authenticated as this letter."⁷

Note H, p. 31. In this account of the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians I have tried to show by a few definite illustrations the character of the New Testament documents which the author had at his disposal. Widely different inferences are

¹ *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 16; iii. 38, 1.

² Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 16; iv. 22, 1; iv. 23, 11.

³ *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, ii. 125-133.

⁴ *Iv.* 4.

⁵ *Hist. of Church*, i. 658.

⁶ *Hist.*, v. 319 n.

⁷ *Epis. of St. Clem.*, p. 4.

drawn from these facts; and the conclusions of scholars much more competent to judge than the present writer can be found in such works as Jülicher's and Zahn's "Histories of the Canon," or Jülicher's "Introduction to the New Testament." As a rule, the correspondence of a brief phrase in Clement with a phrase in either of our Gospels or Epistles is accepted as proof that the writer had the actual Gospel or Epistle before him. Zahn finds in Clement's single reference to Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians proof of an entire collection of Paul's Epistles at this time.¹

To my mind, the less constraint is put upon Clement's language, the better; and, taken upon its face, it seems to point to a period in the formation of the Christian Scriptures when the Old Testament is still of supreme authority, but the Words (or perhaps Discourses) of Jesus, possibly in some collected form, and the writings of Paul, are just beginning to assert their place beside it.²

Note I, p. 32. *The Ignatian Epistles*. The question of the Ignatian Epistles is much more complicated than that of the Epistle of Clement, and critical opinions about it are far more conflicting. Neander thinks the letters much interpolated, and the hierarchic purpose suspicious. A man in the

¹ *Kanonsgesch.*, i. 813, etc.

² Comp. Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, ii. 38-46; Holtzmann, *Einleit. ins N. Test.*, 91, 106; Renan, *Hist.*, v. 319.

face of death, he believes, would have more fitting advice to give than obedience to bishops.¹ Schwegler rejects all, as intrinsically improbable, placing them at about 190.² Lightfoot thinks the Martyrdom spurious, but the Epistles genuine, and written soon after 100.³ The author of "Supernatural Religion" pronounces them "a mass of interpolation and fraud."⁴ Renan thinks them too episcopal for any moment short of 200; Romans alone being genuine.⁵ Harnack believes them genuine, but not earlier, perhaps, than 125.⁶ J. Réville concedes their genuineness, places them at 112-117, and has an ingenious hypothesis to explain their episcopal tone.⁷ Zahn admits them, with the tradition that they belong to the time of Trajan, *i. e.*, before 117.⁸

It will be inferred from the above that the evidence for or against the Epistles is too slight in any case for positive conclusions. I have felt justified in classing them as documents of the first half of the century, whether written by Ignatius or not, on the ground that, as letters of Ignatius to eastern churches are distinctly alluded to by Polycarp about 150,⁹ as Irenæus quotes from one of these letters, though giving no name,¹⁰ and Origen quotes from another by name,¹¹ it is on the whole easier to

¹ *Hist.*, 661, 191 n.

² *Nachap. Zeitalter*, ii. 160-178.

³ *Apos. Fathers*, i. 423; ii. 363, etc.

⁴ i. 271.

⁵ *Hist.*, v. Int. x-xxxi.

⁶ *Chron.*, i. 406.

⁷ *Orig. de l'Epis.*, i. 467-408.

⁸ *Kanonsgesch.*, i. 779.

⁹ *Epis. to Phil.* xiii.

¹⁰ *Hær.*, v. 28, 4.

¹¹ *Hom. on Luke*, 6.

accept these particular letters as genuine than to suppose the real letters lost and these invented in their place. Irenæus's entire silence about Ignatius, while having so much to say of Polycarp, must be taken into account, as Ignatius's importance to the church would seem so much greater; yet the letters themselves must be old, in any case. If they are somewhat later than the times of Ignatius, so much the stronger is their evidence as to the unsettled condition of the canon.

Note J, p. 35. *Traces of New Testament in Ignatius*. Holtzmann, whose "Introduction to the New Testament" is one of the latest and most competent treatises on these matters, and who places the Epistle of Ignatius at possibly as late as 170-180, holds that Ignatius had some collection of Paul's Epistles before him, though, as we have seen, never directly quoting from Paul. Other Epistles, he apparently knows nothing about, nor any of the Gospels except Matthew, and possibly John. As he seems equally well acquainted, however, with the Gospel to the Hebrews,¹ Clement of Rome, and "The Shepherd of Hermas," and treats them with equal respect, Holtzmann concludes that his New Testament, if we suppose him to have one, must include all these writings. His references to "the Gospel,"² though at first suggesting some specific book, apply equally well, and in some cases neces-

¹ *Smyrn.*, iii. 2.

² *Phil.* v. 1; *Smyrn.*, v. 1; viii. 2.

sarily, to the Christian message as preached; while as written authority, the Old Testament is still supreme.¹ For interpretations of the obscure passage, Philadel. viii. 2, see Harnack, who finds here the embryo of the later distinction of Old Testament and New;² also Zahn, who finds in the same passage a reference to the written Gospels.³

Note K, p. 36. *The Martyrdom of Polycarp; a Circular Epistle to the Church of Philomelium.* As Irenæus, who is cited as authority for this Epistle,⁴ had apparently never seen it, or thought it too unimportant to quote,⁵ and as the supplementary paragraphs show that it has passed through many forms,⁶ there seem, apart from its mythical character, ample grounds for suspicion, to be explained only on the assumption of interpolations. Lightfoot maintains its authenticity.⁷ Renan also defends it.⁸ Also Neander.⁹ Harnack maintains its "genuineness and substantial integrity."¹⁰ Eusebius knows the Letter well, and quotes from it in full.¹¹

Note L, p. 37. *Polycarp to the Philippians.* Ire-

¹ Eph. v. 3; Magnes. xii.; Holtzmann, *Einl. ins N. Test.*, 102, 103.

² *Chron.*, i. 393 n.

⁴ Ch. xxii.

⁶ xx., xxii.

⁸ *Hist.*, vi. 462.

¹⁰ *Chron.*, i. 341.

³ *Kanonsgesch.*, i. 845.

⁵ *Hær.*, iii. 3, 4.

⁷ *Apos. Fathers*, 186.

⁹ *Hist.*, i. 109.

¹¹ *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 15.

næus, who writes within a generation after Polycarp's death, speaks of "a very powerful epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians."¹ Eusebius refers to the Epistle repeatedly, though drawing his information apparently wholly from Irenæus.² In view of this testimony, is it not easier, as in the case of Ignatius, to think our Epistle essentially genuine, notwithstanding suspicious features,³ than to suppose the original to have disappeared and a fictitious letter to the Philippians to have taken its place? In these survivals from an early time, it is hardly fair to give the fictions all the chances against the realities.

Schwegler pronounces the Epistle a shadow of the Pastorals, from a similar source, and quite unworthy of Polycarp in character and style.⁴ Hilgenfeld accepts the Martyrdom, but rejects the Epistle.⁵ Renan takes virtually the same ground.⁶ J. Réville finds internal and external evidence of authenticity.⁷ Lightfoot defends the Epistle with great research.⁸ Harnack also, though assigning no nearer date than 110-154.⁹ This seems, on every ground, as close an approximation to the date as it is possible to get. Harnack places the

¹ *Hæc.*, iii. 3, 4.

² *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 36, 13; iv. 14, 8; v. 20, 8, "epistles."

³ ix. 1 comp. with xiii. 2; also vii. 1 as compared with Iren. iii. 3, 4.

⁴ ii. 154.

⁵ *Hist.*, v. Int. xxviii.

⁶ *Apos. Fathers*, ii.

⁵ *Einleit.*, 72, 764.

⁷ *Orig. de l'Épis.*, 449-456.

⁹ *Chron.*, i. 387.

exact date of Polycarp's death at February 23, 155, or possibly 166.¹

Note M, p. 40. According to Holtzmann, Polycarp holds the same relation to a New Testament canon as Ignatius.² Paul is referred to in the same way as an authoritative teacher,³ while reminiscences, very faint it is true, of the Epistles to Romans, Galatians, Corinthians, Philippians, Ephesians, Thessalonians, and Pastorals, can be traced. The words of Jesus in the Epistle correspond best with Matthew, if either of our Evangelists. At the same time Clem. Romanus⁴ and Hermas come among the author's Scripture authorities.⁵

Note N, p. 40. The genuineness of the Epistle of Barnabas is not seriously defended to-day; and certainly unless Barnabas had greatly changed since his earlier days,⁶ he could hardly have written so violent a polemic against the Jews as this. Nor would he have spoken of the Apostles in the manner of v. 9. Nor is the historic evidence sufficient to save it. Clem. Alexandrinus is the first to ascribe the Epistle to Barnabas, naturally liking its allegorical character;⁷ Origen bears the same testimony;⁸ but Eusebius ranks it unceremoniously

¹ *Chron.*, i. 335-355.

² P. 252.

³ xi. 2; xii. 1; also, i. 3.

⁴ ii. 3.

⁵ *Einleit.*, 104.

⁶ Gal. ii. 13; Acts xiii. 2, 3; xv. 39.

⁷ *Strom.*, ii. 6, 7, 20; v. 10, 8; ii. 15, 18.

⁸ *Cels.*, i. 63.

among the "spurious."¹ Thus there is no positive clue to its date, unless we hold with Renan that iv. 4, 5, points unequivocally to Nerva,² or with Müller, that xvi. 3, 4, points unequivocally to Hadrian.³ Accepting the latter passage as the most significant, this would point to about 120 as the most probable date for the Epistle. Tischendorf says 117; Renan, 97; Hilgenfeld, 97; "Supernatural Religion," 117-138; Jülicher, 125; Harnack, 130 or 131; Holtzmann, 96-125.

It is a little curious that a writing which ignores our Gospels more completely than almost any other should be brought forward as the first witness to the existence of a canonical New Testament. Thus far, as we have seen, no Christian writing has ever been called "Scripture," or introduced by the hieratic phrase, "It is written;" but in this Epistle occurs the passage, "As *has been written*, Many called but few chosen."⁴ If this really means that the author had the New Testament in official form in his hands, one cannot help asking why he does not avail himself of such sacred documents oftener. May it not have been merely a slip of memory on his part; he thinking the passage was from the Old Testament, or perhaps having some such verse as 2 Esdras viii. 3 in mind?⁵ We need look no further than ch. iv. 3 of this same Epistle, or Eph.

¹ *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 25, 4.

² *Hist.*, v. 374.

³ *Erklärung d. Barnabasbriefes*, 18.

⁴ Barnabas, iv. 14. Comp. Matt. xxii. 14.

⁵ Hilgenfeld, 38.

v. 14 in the New Testament, to see how easily mistakes of this kind could be made. Or it may well have been, as has been suggested, that the words of Jesus were treated as holy writ long before Christian Scriptures existed, and we have here the first case in point.¹

Note O, p. 54. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. The manuscript of the "Teaching" was found by Bryennios, Metropolitan of Serræ in Mesopotamia, in the library of the Most Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople. It is dated A. D. 1056; and contains, beside this treatise, the Epistle of Barnabas, and Epistles of Clement and Ignatius. The full title of our work is "Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων."

The historic evidence as to the date of the "Teaching" is slight, as of most of the writings of this period. The first token of the existence of such a work is found in this passage of Clem. Alexandrinus: "The Scriptures say; Son be not a liar; for lying leads to theft."² As no such saying can be found in either Old Testament or New, the passage has been a puzzle, till it has finally turned up almost literally in the "Teaching."³ This seems to prove that as early as A. D. 200 this treatise was old enough to be regarded by Clement as Holy Scripture. The first to mention it by name is Eusebius, who classes among spurious scriptures a certain "Teachings of the Apostles,"⁴ which we have

¹ Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, ii. 40 n.

² *Strom.*, i. 20.

³ iii. line 62.

⁴ iii. 25, 4.

reason to suppose was identical with the present discovery. Still later, about 367, Athanasius gives a list of uncanonical writings, among which is a "so-called Teaching of the Apostles."¹ As writings thus mentioned and discussed in the fourth century must have been long in use, these notices also would refer the "Teaching" back in all probability to the early second century. The internal evidence is judged differently by different critics. Harnack, with exhaustive erudition, declares that it must have followed the Epistle of Barnabas,² and that the condition of the church portrayed in the book points to the period 131-160.³ Réville, with equal erudition, declares that it must have preceded Barnabas, and points to 125 at latest, possibly 100.⁴ Hitchcock and Brown say 120-160. By general consent, I think, it would be put in the first half of the century.

Note P, p. 62. The historic allusions to a Gospel according to Peter, very scanty at best, have been already given.⁵ These show that Origen had seen and read such a Gospel, but that no other mention appears till the next century. Eusebius enumerates among the writings of the Apostle Peter two Epistles, a book of Acts, a Gospel, a Preaching of Peter, and an Apocalypse. Of these he considers the First Epistle alone genuine; by

¹ Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 8.

² A. D. 130.

³ *Chron.*, 428-438.

⁴ *Orig. de l'Epis.*, i. 243.

⁵ P. 55.

which he means that neither of the others has been quoted by ecclesiastical writers.¹ Still later he pronounces it distinctly heretical.² The description of the Gospel which Serapion found in use at Rhosse, the only approach to a description which has come down to us, corresponds sufficiently with our manuscript to create a probability that the two are the same writing, and they are accordingly so accepted.³ If this is really a Gospel in use in Asia Minor about 200, and already the source of heretical movements, and if it is quoted without comment by Origen a little later, it must in all probability have been written by the middle of the second century at latest. If the resemblances to this work traced in Justin justify us, as some think, in assuming that he used it,⁴ this fixes its early date still more positively. Harnack accordingly places it in the first third of the century;⁵ Swete at about 150.⁶

The frequent resemblances between this fragment and our Four Gospels, accompanied by such violent departures from the Gospels, make the relation of the fragment to those writings highly perplexing, and open up all sorts of conjectures. Harnack at first concluded that the author showed but faint knowledge of Mark, if acquainted with

¹ *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 3, 2.

² iii. 25, 6.

³ Comp. Harnack; Swete.

⁴ *Apol.*, i. 40; i. 35; *Dial. cum Trypho*, 97. Comp. Harnack, *Bruchstücke*, etc., 38.

⁵ Pp. 40, 80.

⁶ *Int.*, xlv.

him at all, but followed Matthew more closely, or the circle of tradition from which Matthew drew; while, if he knew Luke and John at all, he took the liberty of correcting them very freely. "Soviel ist schon gewiss, dass unser Evangelium . . . in eine Zeit gehört, da der evangelische Stoff noch im Fluss war."¹ Afterwards, on reviewing Schubert's "Composition des Pseudopetrin. Evang. Frag.," Harnack admitted that all our Gospels were probably known to our author.² The proofs of this he finds chiefly in chaps. xx.-lvii. of our Gospel; which show, however, that the writer, if he knows our Gospels at all, recognizes no canonical authority in them, but prefers, even in these most sacred scenes of Christian history, his own independent traditions. As Harnack says, the evangelical matter is evidently still in flux.

A seductive hypothesis, which carries us rather too far into the realm of conjecture, connects this Gospel of Peter with the often-mentioned Gospel according to Hebrews,³ which was used exclusively for two or three centuries by the Ebionites or Hebrew-speaking Christians,⁴ and which even before the discovery of the present fragment was imagined to be the Gospel of Peter under another name.⁵

¹ *Bruchstücke*, 33-36.

² *Literaturzeitung*, No. 1, 19 Jahrgang, p. 17.

³ p. 243.

⁴ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 27, 4.

⁵ De Wette, *Introd. to N. Test.*, § 65; Renan, *Hist.*, v. 111; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, i. 234; Reuss, *Hist. N. Test.*, i. 200.

It has been suggested, too, that the Gospel to the Egyptians¹ was probably the same writing, in altered form, perhaps, and for other latitudes.² As Stanley, in descending the Congo, found that river assuming many different names before it took the one familiar to the world, so we are to imagine this earliest Gospel becoming Ebionite, Nazarene, Gospel of Egyptians, Gospel of Peter, Gospel of Matthew, in turn, before losing its identity in the collections which finally prevailed, or being set wholly aside as not satisfying the wants of later generations.

Note Q, p. 64. Eusebius mentions several writings by Justin, of which the two "Apologies" and the "Dialogue with Trypho" alone survive in any genuine form.³ Eusebius quotes from two Apologies,⁴ but as his citations do not always agree with the two as we have them now,⁵ and as he sometimes speaks simply of "his discourse,"⁶ it is doubtful whether our two are not really part of one Apology, the other being lost. As they are generally accepted, however, together with "Trypho," as genuine writings of Justin, this point is of comparatively little consequence.⁷ As the first "Apology"

¹ Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 9; iii. 13.

² Renan, *Hist.*, vi. 185.

³ *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 18.

⁴ ii. 13, 2-4; iv. 16, 2-6.

⁵ iv. 17, 1.

⁶ iv. 18, 2.

⁷ Harnack, *Chron.*, 274; Neander, *Hist.*, i. 661; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 188; Renan, vi. 367.

speaks of the war of Barchochebas as recent, and fixes its own date as about 150,¹ it is safe to place it at 150-160. The second, if a distinct writing, was probably later than the First; as was also "Trypho," which itself cites the "Apology."²

Note R, p. 74. De Wette, after a thorough analysis of Justin's writings, can find only three brief sentences which follow Matthew literally, and only one which follows Luke precisely. There are three others which vary only by a word; the rest correspond only in single phrases, or mingle the texts of Matthew and Luke, with foreign matter added. The four exact passages are the following:

1. "They shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven, but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness."³
2. "Except your righteousness shall exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven."⁴
3. "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire."⁵
4. "Be it unto me according to thy word."⁶

Hilgenfeld, after an

¹ *Apol.*, i. 29, 31, 46.

² *Trypho*, 120. For a careful study of these dates, see Harnack, *Chron.*, 276-281.

³ Matt. viii. 11, 12; *Trypho*, 76, 120, 140.

⁴ Matt. v. 20; *Trypho*, 105.

⁵ Matt. vii. 19; *Apol.*, i. 16.

⁶ Luke i. 38; *Trypho*, 100; *Introd. to N. Test.*, § 66.

equally, complete examination, finds three cases of exact quotation from Matthew,¹ and four almost exact.² One also from Luke.³ None from Mark or John, though distant resemblances to both.⁴

Note S, p. 83. *Justin's Gospel*. Readers of this volume will not need to be assured that the writer is in no sense a biblical expert or specialist, and that his critical conclusions carry no weight beyond the evidence brought forward in their support. The exact character of Justin's Memoirs or Gospels has always been the subject of excited controversy, and is no nearer a final solution to-day than ever before. Some idea of the present state of the question can be obtained from the following summary.

De Wette, in his "Introduction to the New Testament," was one of the first to subject Justin's citations to critical examination; and arranges the entire material side by side with the corresponding passages from our Gospels. From this comparison it appears, as we have seen,⁵ that there are only four short sentences where Justin follows exactly the present text of our Gospels, all of which but one are the words of Jesus himself. In the narrative or historical passages fragments of Matthew and Luke, chiefly Matthew, are freely and very

¹ *Trypho*, 105, 103, 107.

² *Apol.*, i. 16; *Trypho*, 49, 76, 100.

³ *Trypho*, 105.

⁴ *Evang. Justin's*, pp. 139-251.

⁵ Note R.

loosely combined, with additions of his own or from foreign sources. Seven cases are given which cannot be found in either Gospel. One extract vaguely suggests Mark, three resemble John. From all this De Wette concludes that Justin probably had our four Gospels in his hands, together with some uncanonical writing such as the Gospel of the Hebrews or of Peter.¹

Hilgenfeld, after a similar examination, finds three exact quotations,² and four almost exact,³ all from Matthew. In the case of Mark and Luke he finds resemblances or reminiscences enough to indicate that Justin must have had before him some primitive form of these Gospels. As to the Fourth Gospel, the writer of that Gospel and Justin must have been drawing from some common source. Hilgenfeld's conclusion is that "Justin used chiefly the Gospel of Peter (the original of our Mark), together with some revised form of Matthew; and Luke in very subordinate fashion."⁴

Schwegler holds that Justin's loose Gospel citations, as compared with his much more precise citations from the Septuagint, prove that he could not have known even our Matthew, much less the other Gospels, but used exclusively some primitive Gospel, apparently that called the Hebrews or Peter.⁵ As

¹ §§ 66, 67.

² *Trypho*, 105, 103, 107.

³ *Apol.*, i. 16; *Trypho*, 49, 76, 100.

⁴ *Evang. Justin's und Marcion's*, 304.

⁵ *Nachapos. Zeitalter*, i. 233.

was born in Palestine, this Gospel would naturally have fallen into his hands.

Miller, reviewing Hilgenfeld's conclusions, holds Justin, while following chiefly some form of Matthew, and using also some uncanonical Gospel, yet drew directly from Luke. "If Justin knew one of our canonical Gospels before him, it could only have been Luke."¹

Hilgenfeld thinks our Gospels were in Justin's hands, yet not in their canonical fourfold form; the Fourth Gospel being by no means a follower of its authority, but rather an independent handling of the same material.²

Hilgenfeld, who insists that Justin had all our four Gospels in his hands, in their canonical form, holds that he used great freedom in handling them, as well as in mingling with them the Gospel of Thomas, the Proto-Gospel of James, and other apocryphal matter. "Eben diese Freiheit beweist sowohl durch die absichtslose Nachlässigkeit, mit welcher er die Ev. Texte anführt, als auch durch die Kühnheit mit welcher er Sie nicht selten nach seinen Absichten umgestaltet und erweitert; ferner durch die unbedenkliche Verbindung verschiedener Überlieferungen mit dem Inhalt der Evangelien."³

The recent discovery of the fragment of the Gospel of Peter⁴ gives new plausibility to the theory

¹ *Acts of the Apostles*, i. 121, 138.

² *Evangelium. ins N. Test.*, 98, 467.

³ *Monistheisch.*, i. 558.

⁴ Note P.

of Justin's use of a primitive Hebrew or Peter Gospel. There are several striking points of resemblance between the two.¹ Swete claims that these are no proof that Justin knew the Gospel of Peter.² Harnack, on the contrary, believes that such a Gospel was in his hands among others; and that the much contested expression in "Trypho,"³ "his Memoirs," means "Memoirs of Peter," referring to this Gospel.⁴

It seems a fair inference from the above that on the strictest construction of the case, and even assuming that Justin had our four Gospels in his hands, those Gospels had not yet assumed such official character that he hesitated to alter or mingle them at will, or to place other Gospel literature on the same level with them. This means, of course, that the Gospel canon was still in the early process of formation.

Note T, p. 95. Reconstructions of Marcion's Gospel, drawn chiefly from the writings of Tertullian and Epiphanius, can be found in De Wette's "Introduction to the New Testament;" Hilgenfeld's "Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evang. Justin's, der Clem. Hom. und Marcion's," 1850; Volckmar's "Das Evang. Marcion's," 1852. Zahn, in his "Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons" (1889-92), gives a complete restoration of both

¹ Harnack, *Bruchstücke des Evang. des Petrus*, 37-39.

² Akimim Fragments, xxxv.

³ 106.

⁴ Harnack, 39.

Gospel and "Apostolicon," based on researches of such extraordinary minuteness as to leave apparently but little for future scholars to add. He has so much to say, however, of the carelessness with which both Tertullian and Epiphanius copied Marcion's text, that we see how hard it is at best to get hold of the actual Marcion.¹

The conclusions reached by these different authorities may be thus stated : —

De Wette holds that the charges against Marcion were greatly exaggerated ; that the changes which he made in Luke were sincere attempts to purify what he considered an impure text, though he was often influenced, no doubt, by his dogmatic prejudices ; that " he was acquainted with the other Gospels, or some of them : these he at first accepted, but afterwards rejected, as coming from Jewish Apostles and containing Jewish opinions." Marcion's copy of Luke was not the primitive form from which our Luke was taken, though many of his readings were older and purer than those of his critics.²

Volckmar, a much less conservative critic than De Wette, sums up his study with the words : " Marcion's Gospel cannot be considered a falsification or mutilation of the canonical Gospel, nor yet an older original form of Luke, but rather a Gnostic revision of Luke, consistent and altogether spirited in form, and based upon the oldest codices ;

¹ *Kanonsgesch.*, ii. 411, 453.

² *Introd. to N. Test.*, §§ 70-72.

while our Luke is a much remodeled form, in Pauline spirit, of the original Gospel ; which original is to be traced, if it exists at all, in the Gospel of Mark.”¹

Hilgenfeld points out many instances in Marcion's Gospel of more trustworthy readings than those of his opponents, but thinks that the omissions show so obvious a purpose that it must be regarded as a revision of the Luke then current. It was not our Luke, however, and no more a falsification of it than the later canonical Gospels are falsifications of the earlier. It was an honest effort to purify the existing text.²

Zahn recognizes Marcion as a genuine reformer, who found the Scripture texts in a corrupt state, and set to work conscientiously to correct them. He was the first to undertake the establishment of a New Testament canon. In many cases where Tertullian and Epiphanius charge him with mutilating the established Gospels, his readings were older and purer than theirs. His own Gospel was the result of these scholarly labors.³ From these unpromising facts, by applying his characteristic method, Zahn produces all the results he desires, namely: 1. Marcion's Gospel, beside its general resemblance to Luke, shows faint similarities too, in isolated passages, to expressions used by the other Evangelists ; *therefore* he had all four Gospels

¹ *Das Evang. Marcion's*, 267.

² *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 442-475.

³ *Kanongesch.*, i. 620, 632, 650; ii. 411.

in full form before him.¹ 2. Marcion, as a partisan of Paul and therefore hostile to the older Apostles, even if he knew that certain Gospels had emanated from those Apostles, would presumably refuse to mention their names; *therefore* Marcion knew the true authorship of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.²

3. As some of Marcion's peculiar readings are common to him with several contemporary writers, these must belong, not to an older original, but (by a recognized axiom of textual criticism) to a corrupt form of some older original; *therefore* our four Gospels must have been current and in public use long enough to have become corrupted, that is, fully half a century.³ 4. As we know from independent testimony that certain writings of the Apostles were read in public at this time, together with the Old Testament Prophets,⁴ *therefore* our four Gospels were so read; and to have secured this dignity must have been part of the established Scriptures from the beginning of the century.⁵

The above conclusions, however divergent from each other, agree in their testimony that Marcion was engaged in a sincere and intelligent attempt to preserve the purity of the Christian records, and

¹ *Kanonsgesch.*, i. 674, 680.

² i. 663, 676.

³ i. 638, 639. For a full statement of this ingenious argument, see i. 675.

⁴ Justin, *Apol.*, i. 67.

⁵ i. 534, 557. As Clement's and Soter's Epistles to the Corinthians were also read in public, it would seem to follow that these Epistles also were part of the canonical Scriptures. (Euseb. iii. 16; iv. 23, 11.)

that he showed, on the whole, a more scholarly acquaintance with the ancient texts than his opponents. Indeed, the criticisms of Marcion by Tertullian and Epiphanius reveal quite as unsettled a condition of the Christian Scriptures as Marcion's own writings. What a queer version of Luke, for instance, must have been in Tertullian's hands, if he could find in it, "I came not to destroy but to fulfill;" "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel;" and "I am not come to send peace but a sword,"—all of which passages are found to-day not in Luke, but in Matthew.¹ It should be remembered, also, that if Marcion was really selecting from four existing Gospels the one which would best suit his peculiar doctrines, Matthew or Mark would have served his purpose quite as well as Luke, and John far better. And why, if he found any recognized apostolic authority to support him, should he have refrained from alluding to it? Whatever the verdict upon Marcion, the situation is significant as revealing the inevitable changes which the biblical writings were undergoing while awaiting their final revision.

Note U, p. 96. Beside the writers given in the text, there was a certain Aristides, well known in the time of Eusebius, who is said to have addressed to the Emperor Hadrian or Antoninus Pius a defense of the faith similar to that of Justin.² It has

¹ Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 7; iv. 29.

² *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 3, 3; Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.*, 20.

been preserved, however, in so imperfect a form, and has so little bearing upon our present inquiry, containing no reference to any New Testament passage, that it calls for no special notice.¹

Hegesippus, one of the most voluminous writers of the time, though coming towards the end of the century (173-190), and known only through very brief extracts from his works, has some interest for us as showing how general was the use, for this entire period, of other Gospels than the four which happen to have survived. One of his authorities, beside the preaching of the Apostles and the unwritten traditions of the Jews, seems to have been the Gospel to the Hebrews.² He preserved many incidents, otherwise unknown, relating to the brothers of Jesus and their descendants, who appeared upon his pages as rulers of the infant churches.³ James, the brother of Jesus, figured there as the Bishop of Jerusalem, devoting himself at the same time to the most rigid observance of the Jewish ceremonial.⁴

Note V, p. 102. *Tatian's Diatessaron*. Tatian was an Assyrian by birth (ad Græc. xlii.) and came to Rome in Justin's time, becoming his disciple. His so-called "Diatessaron" would throw much light

¹ See Hennecke, *Die Apologie des Aristides; Texts and Studies*, Camb. i. 1; Ante-Nic. Lib., ix. 259, etc.; Krüger, *Early Christ. Lit.*, 101.

² Euseb. iv. 8, 1 and 2; iv. 22, 8.

³ iii. 20, 1-6; iii. 32.

⁴ ii. 23, 3-18.

on the problem of the early Gospels, if we could judge more accurately of its character; but it is nowhere mentioned until the fourth century,¹ and survives only in late manuscripts, after passing through many hands. As the earlier writers know Tatian only as a heretic and ascetic, and make no allusion to his "Diatessaron," it cannot have had great vogue at the time, though in the Syrian churches it seems to have been the only Gospel in use for two centuries.² Eusebius and Epiphanius, though mentioning the work, had evidently never seen it. The term "Diatessaron," according to the usage of the time, may mean simply *harmony*,³ so that we cannot judge positively how many Gospels he used in constructing his work. If, however, as is commonly understood, it means strictly a "harmony of four," it serves as evidence of the separation of our Gospels from the rest by A. D. 175, or thereabouts. It should be added that the "Diatessaron," as reconstructed by recent scholars, does not correspond very closely with the accounts given of it in ancient times; and if this is really Tatian's work, there seems no conceivable reason for the bitter opposition to it, or why Bishop Theodoret should have cast two hun-

¹ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 29, 6. The *Teaching of Addæus the Apostle*, which also contains a reference to the Diatessaron, is evidently later than Eusebius.

² Iren., *Hæc.*, i. 28, 1; iii. 23, 8; Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 12; Epiphanius, *Hæc.*, xlv. 1; Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.*, 29.

³ Renan, *Hist.*, vi. 503 n; Jülicher, *Einleit.*, 301.

dred of them out of his churches.¹ See Gebh. und Harnack, "Altchrist. Literatur," i. 485-496; Krüger, "History of Early Christian Literature," 120, 365; Zahn, "Diatess. Tat.;" "Encyclopædia Britannica" (9th ed.), article "Tatian," by Harnack; G. F. Moore, in "Journal of Bib. Lit.," ix. pt. 2; Hill's "Earliest Life of Christ," 1894; Scholten, "Die ältesten Zeugnisse," 93-98.

Note W, p. 104. *The Synoptic Gospels*. If the sketch given in the text is correct, it would follow, of course, that our three earlier Gospels (the so-called Synoptics), judged by historic evidence, cannot have assumed anything like their present form before the middle of the second century. Though this conclusion seems to me to follow naturally from the teachings of modern New Testament criticism, yet I cannot claim that it is generally accepted; and I must leave the more competent authorities on these points to speak for themselves. While few critics nowadays assume that these Gospels came directly from the hands of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, yet most of them, on grounds of internal testimony, assign all three to apostolic times, though varying widely as to exact dates or the order in which the three appeared.

Matthew is generally placed at about A. D. 70, owing mainly to the nature of its allusions to the temple and to the destruction of Jerusalem. It is noticeable, however, that while some are positive

¹ Theod., *Hær. Fab.*, i. 20.

that it was written before 70,¹ others are equally positive that it was written after 70.² Critics like Bunsen, Schenkel, B. Weiss, and Holsten place it soon after 70; Réville, Hilgenfeld, Köstlin, Haus-rath, put it in the Flavian period, between 70 and 96.³ On similar grounds, Mark is placed by Weiss, Pfeleiderer, Brückner, before 70; by Weizsäcker, Beyschlag, Volckmar, Hilgenfeld, Holsten, at different dates between 70 and 80. Harnack says 65 to 85.⁴ As to Luke, there is greater divergence; some placing even this Gospel before the destruction of Jerusalem, the majority putting it as late as 80 or 95.⁵ Even so unconservative a critic as Renan assigns these approximate dates: namely, Matthew, 85; Mark, 76; Luke, 95.⁶

It would be unfair to these critics themselves, however, to assume that these dates, confidently as they appear to be given, are meant to be taken quite in the sense in which dates are affixed to modern writings. Renan, for instance, while speaking after the above fashion in one volume, in another, when speaking of the Gospels in circulation about 150, describes them as "more or less in conformity with what we call the synoptic type."⁷ And again: "The Gospels remained till towards 160, or even later, private documents, confined to

¹ Matt. xxiv. 2, 29, 34.

² xxii. 7; xxiv. 48; xxviii. 19.

³ See Holtzmann, *Einleit.*, 373.

⁴ *Chron.*, 653. ⁵ Holtzmann, as above.

⁶ *Hist.* v. 125, 174 n, 254.

⁷ vi. 357.

small circles. Each locality had its own, and for a long time no one scrupled to fill out or combine the texts already accepted.”¹ One cannot help conjecturing that most modern commentators have similar reservations in mind in assigning early dates to any of the “Synoptics.” Harnack, for example, fixes Matthew at 70 to 75, as being later than Mark. In another passage, however, he declares it quite possible that while Matthew belongs for the most part to about 70, the present text was fixed between the times of John the Presbyter and Papias.² Still other critics of the highest repute place all three Gospels unhesitatingly in the second century. Pfleiderer puts Matthew at 130 to 140.³ Keim puts Mark at about 100.⁴ For Luke, Jülicher gives us the generous range from 80 to 105 or 120.⁵ Krüger says, “All three Gospels were written after the destruction of Jerusalem, and their text can hardly have received its present shape before the second half of the second century.”⁶ There is little doubt, I think, that modern critics in general would allow that the three earlier Gospels have come to their actual form through successive stages of growth, and that any early dates assigned belong properly to the primitive germ. The amount of change to which that germ has been subjected must be a

¹ *Hist.*, vi. 498.

² *Chron.*, 654, 700 n.

³ *Urchrist.*, 542.

⁴ *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 116; *Urchrist.*, 221, etc.

⁵ *Einleit.*, 202, 263.

⁶ *Hist. of Christ. Literature*, 49.

matter of pure conjecture. For myself, I am quite prepared to accept any of the above critical conclusions, provided they accord with the evidences here adduced of the use of the Gospels by the Church Fathers. These evidences are historic facts which are perfectly familiar to all students of the subject, and which none deny. They prove, if nothing more, how long it was before the Gospels bore anything like canonical or official authority; how long, that is, before they were secured against additions, modifications, or corruptions.

As to the authors of these Gospels, it should be borne in mind that neither Matthew, Mark, nor Luke was a personage important enough to have had a Scripture writing assigned to him if he had had nothing to do with its origin. Of Luke this is especially true. He has absolutely no significance to the world except as writer of the third Gospel. He was simply one of the chance companions of the Apostles,¹ and if the real author had been casting about for a name, he might quite as well have called it the Gospel of Demas or Tychicus. The natural inference is, therefore, that there was substantial reason for calling it Luke's; in other words, that the original collection of Christ's words or acts, from which the Gospel has grown, did actually come, in some form, from the hands of Luke. It is pleasant to think that this was true of each of the Gospels, however little either may have retained of its original character. It should be added,

¹ Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11.

too, that the many passages which are common to Matthew, Mark, and Luke imply of themselves a long process of growth, before fitting themselves into such very dissimilar conjunctions. Indeed, it requires only a moment's thought to conclude that the sayings of Jesus himself were much more likely to have impressed themselves upon the memory, and to have been sacredly preserved, than any other discourses of the time; and, therefore, we risk little in assuming that our records have really come, in this sense, from the hands of his immediate followers.

But for the unauthorized and exaggerated claims that have been made for our Gospels, the idea here given of a gradual growth out of original oral and written traditions would seem the most natural and satisfactory explanation of their origin.

For authorities on the above points, see Holtzmann, "Einleitung," 372, etc.; Weizsäcker, "Apostolic Age," ii. 32-71; Pfeiderer, "Urchristenthum," 359-543; Jülicher, "Einleitung," 207-238; Reuss, "History of the New Testament," i. 175-212; Hilgenfeld, "Einleitung," 452, 497, 547; "Encyclopædia Britannica" (9th ed.), art. "Gospels," by E. A. A.; Westcott's "Canon of the New Testament."

Note X, p. 128. *The Revelation.* The Book of Revelation has many different titles in different versions, the oldest being The Revelation of John, or simply Revelation. Others are Revelation of John the Theologian, Revelation of John the Di-

vine, Revelation of St. John the Apostle. It is to be noted, however, that the book of itself makes no claim of the kind, but simply gives the name John, with nothing further to define it.¹ Moreover, the references to the Apostles throughout are in the third person, and not at all as though the writer were or pretended to be one of them;² while it is difficult, if not impossible, to conceive of such a passage as xxi. 14 as being written by one of the very Apostles to whom such supreme honor is ascribed.

The first writer, so far as we know, to mention the book is Justin Martyr (about 150), who considers John the Apostle to be the author.³ At the end of the century, it seems to be generally accepted as his work.⁴ By the middle of the third century, it has already begun to be questioned, and a learned bishop of Alexandria (Dionysius) subjects the matter to very close and critical inspection. He says: "That it is a John who writes these things, we must of course believe, as he says so himself; but what John is not so clear. For he has not called himself, as so often in the Gospel, *the disciple beloved of the Lord*, nor the one *leaning on his breast*. . . . That he saw a vision and was endowed with wisdom and prophetic power, I

¹ Rev. i. 1, 4, 9; xxii. 8.

² xviii. 20.

³ *Trypho*, 81.

⁴ Iren., *Her.*, iv. 20, 11; v. 26, 1; v. 30, 1; Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, vi. 13; Tertull. adv. Marc. iii. 14; iv. 5; Canon Muratori, 3; Origen, as given in Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, vi. 25, 9.

do not gainsay ; but I perceive that his dialect and language are not of the purest Greek, but that he uses barbarous idioms, and at times solecisms." Dionysius thinks it probably a forgery by the heretic Cerinthus.¹ Eusebius himself, writing in the next century (about 325), intimates that it was perhaps by the Presbyter John, of whom Papias has so much to say,²—a conjecture much in favor among the latest critics.³ It is plain, therefore, even regarding the work as entirely from one hand, how little ground there has ever been to ascribe it to the Apostle John.

Modern criticism, however, as has been intimated in the text, tends more and more to regard the work as a composite one. The fragmentary character of the first three chapters was long ago pointed out,⁴ and later commentators have carried this theory much farther : one thinking it a gradual growth from an apostolic original ; another a simple collection of several apocalypses ; another a Jewish apocalypse, adapted later to Christian needs ; another still detecting in it a Jewish original of the time of Pompey (B. C. 63), added to in the reign of Caligula (A. D. 40), turned into a Christian revelation twenty years later, and put into its present form about A. D. 100.⁵ The question of authorship

¹ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, vii. 25, 12, 26 ; iii. 28, 3, 4.

² *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 39, 6.

³ Harnack, *Chron.*, i. 675-680.

⁴ Schweigler, *Nachapoc. Zeitalter*, ii. 256.

⁵ Comp. Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, ii. 173-180 ; Vischer, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, etc. ; Holtzmann, *Einleit.*, 412.

virtually disappears under these conjectures, or becomes quite subordinate to that of the date of the final revision.

On the question of date there is a more general agreement among critics than in the case of any other New Testament book except certain Epistles of Paul. The decisive passage is found in the mysterious utterance about the beast,¹ which, after kindling the imagination of visionaries for centuries, is at last commonly accepted as a reflection of the prophecy of Daniel² and referring to Rome and the early emperors. According to these verses, the sixth emperor is reigning, while a seventh is about to appear, and one of the seven to reappear as the eighth. As on the one hand the first emperor in this reckoning may be either Augustus or Julius Cæsar, and on the other hand Galba, Otho, and Vitellius may be regarded as contemporaneous sovereigns or passed over entirely, the range is considerable here; and the result varies between the reign of Domitian,³ of Galba,⁴ and of Vespasian.⁵

Even these conflicting results, however, offer the limits 68-96; a far more definite conclusion than we can count upon, or are accustomed to, in New Testament criticism. We are at liberty, therefore, to regard the Revelation either as a Christian work,

¹ Rev. xvii. 10, 11.

² vii.

³ Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Harnack. Comp. Iren., *Hæc.*, v. 30, 3.

⁴ Baur, Renan, Hausrath.

⁵ Bleek; Mommsen, *Prov. of Roman Empire*, ii. 214 n.

written not later than the beginning of Vespasian's reign,¹ while Christianity still feels itself a Jewish sect; or as a composite production, half Christian half Jewish, receiving its latest touches towards A. D. 100. In any case, it heralds the speedy coming of the Lord, and the final establishment of the New Jerusalem.

For a historical sketch of the apocalyptic literature, Jewish and Christian, see Lücke, "Offenbarung des Johannes," i. 40-342. For the later criticism, see Weizsäcker, "Apos. Age," ii. 173-205; Vischer, "Die Offen. Joh. eine Jüdische Apokalypse;" Renan, "Hist.," iv. 351-480; Hausrath, "Time of Apos.," iv. 256-282; Meyer's "Exeget. Handbuch" (Düsterdieck); Pfeiderer, "Urchristenthum," 318-356; Holtzmann, "Einleitung," 408-424.

Note Y, p. 131. In the New Testament itself, the messianic expectation appears under different forms on different pages, showing that the doctrine had assumed at that time no definite shape. In the Gospel of Matthew, the coming of the Son of man and the final judgment are to occur together, before that generation had passed away.² According to Paul, Christ was to appear before all then living had passed away, and would reign "till he hath put all enemies under his feet." After that the end of the world: "Then cometh the end, when he shall

¹ Rev. xi. 1, 2.

² Matt. xxiv. 3, 6-13, 29-34; xxv. 31-46.

have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father ; when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power. . . . That God may be all in all." ¹ Finally, in Revelation, this indefinite intervening period between the Messiah's coming and the end of his reign has become defined as one thousand years. ²

Note Z, p. 141. We need look no further than the Wisdom of Solomon (about B. C. 100, or somewhat later) to see that Greek speculations on divine themes had reached the Jewish schools a century before Paul. Pfeiderer points out the distinctly Platonic features in Wisdom of Solomon, (esp. i. 13, etc. ; ii. 23-iii. 4 ; iv. 10-v. 3, 6, 18-21 ; viii. 13, 17-19), and also the parallelisms between the Wisdom and Paul. (Wis. ix. 13-17 and 1 Cor. ii. 6-16 ; 2 Cor. v. 1, etc. ; Wis. xiii., xiv., and Rom. i. 18, etc. ; 1 Cor. xii. 2 ; Gal. iv. 8, etc. ; Wis. xv. 7, xii. 10-12, and Rom. ix.) This apocryphal book thus becomes the link between Platonic idealism and Christianity. ³ Compare, also, Hausrath, "Time of Apos.," iii. 20-30, where the same relation is pointed out, though the Book of Wisdom is placed nearer to Paul's own time. See, also, Toy, "Judaism and Christianity," 60, 251, 278 ; J. H. Allen's "Early Christianity," ch. ii.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 24-28 ; 1 Thess. iv. 15.

² Rev. xx. 4, 6.

³ Pfeiderer, *Urchrist.*, 153-160.

Note AA, p. 149. *Ephesians and Colossians*. The Epistles to Ephesians and to Colossians (to a certain extent duplicates the one of the other, and therefore to be considered together) have been held since the days of De Wette and Baur in ever-increasing distrust. No problem connected with New Testament criticism is so perplexing, and whatever result is reached must be held with great reserve, as the historic evidence at command is too slight to allow of positive conclusions.

The point most dwelt upon by recent critics is that the historic standpoint revealed by such passages as Eph. ii. 13-22 is altogether later than any possible period of Paul's ministry. "The letter," says Holtzmann, "solemnizes the victory of a movement of which the Pauline system marks the critical moments of development."¹ "These doctrines," says Weizsäcker, "have their points of contact with the Pauline teaching, but they go beyond it. Paul had only foreshadowed thoughts like these as the ultimate background; here Pauline universalism has become a mystical theory. He had not applied the idea of the all-pervading godhead to the church, but had looked forward to it as belonging to the final state hereafter."² "The actual fusing of two distinct messianic circles into one body," says Klöpffer, "which during Paul's active ministry was only a distant and abstract ideal, appears in the Epistle to Ephesians as nearer by a very noticeable stage to its

¹ *Einleit.*, 259.

² *Apos. Age*, ii. 242.

realization."¹ If the Epistle to Ephesians were a historical sketch, these criticisms would be quite conclusive; but nothing seems clearer than that the church as present to the writer's mind is an ideal conception. It is no particular circle of warring or reconciled organizations; it is the ideal consummation of all things in the messianic future. A church which is the "body and fullness" of Christ himself, "filling all in all," and which reveals to heavenly powers the hidden mystery of the ages,² is on its own showing a purely mystic notion. If it is too mystic for Paul, then 2 Cor. iii. 18, and many other passages in Corinthians and Romans, are too mystic for Paul.

As to the strong Gnostic coloring of these two Epistles, pointed out by Baur,³ and accepted by almost all later critics, it must be remembered that we can determine the beginnings of Gnosticism only by first determining the age of the documents in which those beginnings appear. Indeed, if we are to make any positive advance in our knowledge of Christian thought, we must decide once for all whether we will follow primarily historic or *a priori* evidence; in other words, external evidence or internal. We cannot do both. We cannot reject Ephesians and Colossians as breathing the thought of a later age than Paul's, and at the same time determine from Romans and Corinthians what Paul's ideas were. In point of fact, the historic

¹ *Epheser-Brief*, 98.

² i. 23; iii. 10.

³ *Paulus*, ii. 3-49.

evidence, slight enough at best, is quite the same for the lesser as for the greater Epistles; in other words, the references to the one in early writers are quite as frequent and early as to the other. If we reject these Epistles on internal grounds, the authenticity of all Paul's Epistles falls at once into doubt. If, therefore, their mystic character is the chief argument against them, we are bound to conclude, not that they are ungenuine, but that Paul was more of a mystic than we commonly allow.

The marked resemblance between the two Epistles (40 out of the 155 verses in Ephesians corresponding closely with Colossians, together with the entire general arrangement), which constituted De Wette's main indictment against the genuineness of Ephesians,¹ seems to me sufficiently accounted for, somewhat as Schleiermacher suggested long ago,² if Paul, having just written to one congregation, wished to address another on the same theme, leaving it perhaps to an amanuensis to transcribe his former letter. Even a Paul, under the stress of missionary labor, might well turn one writing to account for a double purpose.

The most serious trouble lies, after all, in the passages ii. 20, iii. 5, and perhaps iv. 11, where the "Apostles" are spoken of, not as a body of living men, of whom the writer is one, but rather as "holy" personalities, to be coupled with the Old Testament Prophets as a historic and sacred

¹ *Introd. to N. Test.*, §§ 145-150.

² *Werke*, viii. 166 n.

group. For Paul to have written Eph. ii. 20 seems quite as inconceivable as for John to have written Rev. xxi. 14. In any case, the juxtaposition of Apostles and Prophets, common enough after the apostolic age, seems to point unequivocally to a later moment and later congregational uses. Accepting the Epistles as otherwise genuine, we are forced, therefore, to suppose that later copyists have tampered with the text for their own purposes. The difficulties, then, are great on both sides; and the best that can be said is that there are fewer objections to considering the Epistles as genuine in the main, than to considering them fraudulent.

Consult, on this subject, Baur, "Paulus," ii. 3-49; Schwegler, "Nachapost. Zeitalter," ii. 325-334; De Wette, "Introd. to N. Test.," §§ 142-147; Holtzmann, "Einleitung," 254-270; Klöpper, "Brief an d. Epheser;" Hilgenfeld, "Einleitung," 332-348, 669-680; Jülicher, "Einleitung," 89-97; Lightfoot, "Coloss. and Philemon;" McGiffert, "Hist. of Apost. Age," 365-385.

Note BB, p. 160. In Note T will be found an estimate of Marcion's Gospel. The chief authorities for his theological doctrines are: Tertullian adv. Marcion, i.-v.; "Præs.," 30; Justin, "Apol.," i. 26, 58; Irenæus, "Hær.," i. 27; Hippolytus, vii. 29-31; Epiphanius, "Hær.," 42. See, also, Baur, "Christ. Gnosis," 240; Neander, "Hist. of Christ. Church," 458-473; Hase, "Hist. of

Christ. Church," 81; Harnack, "Hist. of Dogma," i. 266-285; "New World" for March, 1898, pp. 84, 85.

Note CC, p. 166. *Basilides*. The accounts of Basilides reach us through two or three distinct sources, differing greatly according as each interpreter is more or less appreciative of Basilides's idealism, or perhaps as the latest historian mixes the ideas of the disciples with those of the master. The more transcendental and more detailed version comes from Hippolytus, who wrote about A. D. 222. See Irenæus, i. 24; ii. 16, 2; ii. 35, 1; Clem. Alex., "Stromata," ii. 3; ii. 6-8; Hippolytus, vii. 14-27; Epiphanius, "Hær.," xxiv.

Note DD, p. 176. *Valentinus*. The Valentinian writings are given most fully by Irenæus, who records the doctrines of the Valentinians in general, making Ptolomæus their chief spokesman.¹ Hippolytus gives virtually the same account, tracing the doctrines back to Pythagoras and Plato.² Clem. Alexandrinus cites occasional passages from both Valentine and Basilides, commonly with sympathetic recognition of their spiritual meaning. Tertullian treats the whole subject as a broad joke.³ Comp. Epiph., "Hær.," xxxi.; Euseb., "Hist. Ecc.," iv. 22, 5.

¹ *Hær.*, i. 1-8; i. 11, 1.

² *Refut.*, vi. 21-37.

³ Adv. Valentinianos; also, *Præs.*, 7, 30, 33; *Car.*, 2.

Note EE, p. 183. *Philo.* Comp. Ritter, "Hist. of Ancient Philosophy," iv. ch. vi.; Ewald, "Hist. of Israel," vii. 194-235; Hausrath, "Time of Apos.," i. 161-189; Harnack, "Hist. of Dogma," i. 109-116.

Note FF, p. 188. The name Gnosticism is so loosely used by the earlier writers that it is not easy to determine exactly when it came into vogue as the designation of a sect or sects. Justin Martyr (150) attacks Marcion with great severity, and denounces Marcionites, Valentinians, Basilidians, and others, under the names of their leaders, but makes no mention whatever of "Gnostics."¹ Irenæus (175) applies the name vaguely to all the heresies of the time, yet uses the word itself but rarely, and resents its appropriation by his opponents. His book against heresies is entitled "Refutation of the falsely-called Gnosis."² Tertullian, who also writes many treatises against Marcionites, Valentinians, and other heretics, and deals constantly with the very themes at issue between himself and them (Resurrection of the Flesh; The Soul; The Flesh of Christ), has hardly a single occasion to use the name Gnostic. I can find it but three times, distinguishing each time between Gnostic and Valentinian.³

¹ *Apol.*, i. 26, 58; *Trypho*, 35.

² The word appears, I think, only in i. 11, 1; i. 25, 6; i. 29, 1; ii. Pref.; ii. 13, 8; ii. 31, 1; ii. 35, 2; iii. 12, 12; iv. 6, 4; iv. 35, 1; v. 26, 2.

³ *Scorpiace*, 1; Adv. Valentinianos, 39; *De Anima*, 18.

Clem. Alexandrinus (about 200), in the eight books of his "Stromata," uses the word on every page, but only as the best designation he can find for the perfect man and true Christian. He claims to be as Gnostic as the best;¹ and deals with Basilides and Valentine as fair opponents, who are at worst but chatterers and cavilers,² and altogether too ascetic to satisfy his notion of the requirements of the Gospels.³ His opponents are "Gnostics, falsely so-called."⁴ Origen (185-254) treats heresies in general as natural attendants upon Christianity,⁵ but shows a profound aversion to Marcionites and especially Ophites;⁶ and mentions Basilides and Valentine with little favor.⁷ All this time, however, he says nothing of Gnostics, so far as I see, except in a single case where he speaks of "those who give themselves out as Gnostics;" *i. e.*, as if they knew more than others.⁸ Hippolytus, in his ten books of "Refutation of all Heresies," uses the name Gnostic very rarely,⁹ applying it distinctly to the Naaseni. Epiphanius (toward 400) takes quite a different view, declaring that all after one Nicolaus, including Valentinians, called themselves Gnostics.¹⁰ Plotinus (205-270), writing as a

¹ *Strom.*, ii. 11.

² i. 10; ii. 8; ii. 16; iii. 4; iv. 9.

³ iii. 1, 4, etc.; vii. 17.

⁴ iii. 4.

⁵ *Cels.*, iii. 12.

⁶ *Prin.*, ii. 5, 1-4; vii. 1; *Cels.*, vi. 24; vi. 28; vi. 30; vi. 53.

⁷ *Prin.*, ii. 9, 5; ii. 7, 1; *Cels.*, vi. 35; v. 61.

⁸ *Cels.*, v. 61.

⁹ v. 2; v. 6; v. 23.

¹⁰ *Har.*, xxvi.; xxxi. 1.

philosopher against the false Platonists of his day, uses no names, and leaves it uncertain whether he has Christians or Gnostics in mind. His disciple Porphyry, however, in editing the treatise, entitles it "Against the Gnostics," but claims at the same time that the Gnostics were Christians.¹ Eusebius (about 320), following Irenæus, fathers Gnosticism upon Carpocrates only, and mentions Basilides as the leader of a distinct heresy.² Philaster (about 350) enumerates 156 heresies, using the name Gnostic but four times, distinguishing them from Valentinians, and coupling them each time with Manichæans.³ Augustine (354-430) gives 88 heresies; among them: i. Simonians; iv. Basilides; vi. Gnostics; xi. Valentine; xvii. Ophites; xxii. Marcionites.⁴ If nothing else is clear from the above, it is plain that no two of these early authorities use the term Gnostic in the same sense, and that it was long fought for by both sides, before being surrendered to the heretics.

Compare Anz,⁵ who traces all the Gnostic schools back to an early Babylonian gnostic system. Renan holds that the doctrines common to Basilides, Valentine, and Saturninus, no less than to Philo and Paul, point to some common source behind them

¹ *Vit. Plotin.*, 16; *Select Works of Plotinus*, Bohn, 44 n., 257.

² *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 7, 8 and 9.

³ *Phil. de Hær.*, ch. 84, 88, 100, 129.

⁴ *Opera*, viii.

⁵ *Zur Frage nach d. Ursprung d. Gnosticismus*.

all,¹ Matter, in his "Histoire Critique," among 43 Gnostic sects, gives one (No. 43) specifically called Gnostics.

Note GG, p. 195. *Pistis Sophia*. See "Über das gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia." Harnack, "Texte und Untersuchungen," etc., 1890. Also, Westcott's "Canon of New Testament," p. 404.

This writing is part of a Coptic document found about 1851, and is considered by Harnack to belong to the latter part of the third century. As it is almost the only Gnostic treatise which has survived, it is interesting to observe that it is based upon the Old Testament and New Testament Scriptures. It represents Jesus conversing with his disciples on the Mount of Olives eleven years after his ascension, and revealing to them the mysteries which during his ministry he had hidden under his parables. He calls himself "that great Mystery,"² and treats both the Scriptures as "veiled truth" now first revealed. The writer, without mentioning the Evangelists, evidently has some version of the four Gospels, with some apocryphal sources, before him, and cites also freely from the Psalms, adding five unknown "Psalms of Solomon," together with Gnostic hymns. Christ appears as the highest Æon, and describes his descending to earth and gazing upon Mary before his human birth. Mary Magdalen is a prominent figure throughout; and the presence of the women on the scene causes no

¹ *Hist.*, vi. 148.

² *Pistis Sophia*, 230, 231.

little altercation among the disciples. Peter especially complains to the Master of their loquacity.¹ An extraordinary scene occurs where Christ stands with his disciples on the seashore, uttering a series of unintelligible sounds, the Æons and Powers all listening. The writer takes this quite seriously, and explains the meaning of the mouthings; though, so far as we can judge, it is simply a convulsive sequence of alliterative and explosive syllables (*ιαω, αωι, θερνωψ*, etc.), perhaps a genuine case of the gift of tongues, as described by Paul.²

Note HH, p. 198. *Gnosticism*. If any of my readers feel that I have dealt too lightly with the solemn problem of Gnosticism, or for any reason care to follow the subject further, they will find all needed help in the following works.

Baur's "Christliche Gnosis" is still one of the most exhaustive and important treatises on the subject, though importing into it a little too much of the idealism of his own century. He finds the first elements of Gnosticism in the contact of Jewish and pagan thought; especially in Philo, though also in the Old Testament Apocrypha, the Therapeutæ, and Essenes. He classifies the Gnostic sects according to their relation to paganism, Judaism, and Christianity.

Neander³ takes up the several leading schools

¹ *Pistis Sophia*, 161, 382.

² 1 Cor. xiv. 9, 11, 14, 19, 23.

³ *Hist. of Christian Church*, i. 366-478.

in a comprehensive and thoroughly appreciative spirit, if only the work were more readable, either in the original or the translation.

Matter¹ writes with full research and in great detail. He divides the Gnostic sects in large measure geographically, viz.: i. Cerinth and Simon; ii. Syrian schools; iii. Egypt, chief schools; iv. Egypt, lesser schools; v. Marcion; vi. Clementines.

Anz, "Zur Frage nach d. Ursprung d. Gnosticismus," 1897,² is an interesting monograph, tracing Gnosticism back to an early Babylonian cult.

See, also, Hilgenfeld, "Einleitung ins Neue Testament," 45, etc.; Herzog, "Encyklopädie" (article by Jacobi); Harnack, "History of Dogma," i. 222-366; Renan, "Hist.," vi. 140-185, 350-363; Mansel, "Gnostic Heresies," London, 1875.

See, also, Toy, "Judaism and Christianity," 257, 431, etc.; J. H. Allen, "Early Christianity," ch. iii.

Note II, p. 205. For the parallelisms between the Fourth Gospel and the others, see De Wette, "Introduction to New Testament," §§ 103-107. De Wette gives also an exact arrangement of the Gospel as compared with Matthew, which he considered as probably its basis. Other commentators think it draws chiefly from Luke, though there is little agreement and much guesswork upon this point. From a rough comparison, such as any one

¹ *Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme*. 1843.

² Gebh. und Harnack, *Texte*, etc.

can make, I should say that the passages of our Gospel which run at all parallel with the others constitute about 100 out of nearly 900 verses,¹ all of them quite vague and inexact, if considered as quotations. Exact quotations, or direct acknowledgment of the source borrowed from, we should not of course expect from this writer more than from others of that period; but it would not be too much to look for some slight consciousness of the existence of other authorities, if they had any recognized position. See Keim, "Jesus of Nazara," i. 160-166; Holtzmann, "Einleitung," 440; Jülicher, "Einleitung," 247; Pfeiderer, "Urchristenthum," 695. Pfeiderer holds that the author shows special dependence upon Luke; but that, beside Mark and Luke, he drew also from some unknown third source; not Matthew, but probably the Gospel to Hebrews.

Note JJ, p. 208. *The Logos*. In comparing the Logos of the Fourth Gospel with that of Philo, which it so closely resembles,² it is not necessary to assume that the one is drawn directly from the other. It may be or may not be. Philo is of importance to us, not so much for himself as for the contact of Greek and Jewish thought which he represents, and for the general religious movement of which he happens to be the only writer whose works have survived. What Philo was thinking just then no doubt others were thinking also, and

¹ Exactly 118 out of 879.

² P. 181.

the use which he made of Old Testament material was open to other enlightened Jews as well. But whether drawn from Philo or not, our Gospel unquestionably reflects the same ideals as held by another mind and applied to another order of events. What Philo conceived metaphysically, our author presents to us incarnated in the living Jesus. The ideal has become real.

See Keim, "Jesus of Nazara," i. 153, 276, etc.; Harnack, "History of Dogma," i. 109-114; Holtzmann, "Die Gnosis und Johan. Evang.," 117; O. Holtzmann, "Johannes Evangelium," 80-86; Hilgenfeld, "Evang. Justin's und Marcion's," 294.

Note KK, p. 209. *Fourth Gospel and Gnosticism*. The Gnostic affinities of this Gospel, partly cloaked by our English version, are perfectly evident and have been often dwelt upon. One commentator finds the entire Valentinian Ogdoad in the Prologue; its Pleroma, its Monogenes, its Arche, Logos, Zoe, Charis, and Aletheia corresponding closely if not exactly with the Valentinian Æons. The "bosom of the Father" and light as the essence of Deity are also Valentinian.¹ According to Irenæus, the Valentinians themselves claimed the first chapter of John as authority for their system.² The recognized earmarks of Gnosticism, Dualism, Docetism, with the Æons and Demiurge, in reality if not in name, are certainly found

¹ Hilgenfeld, *Evang. und Briefe Johan.*, 19-46.

² *Har.*, i. 8, 5. Comp. iii. 11, 1.

in our Gospel, together with the allegory, the occultism, and the radical distinction between spiritual and unspiritual which characterize all Gnostic systems. At the same time, it is noticeably free from all the eccentricities and extravagancies which we associate with the name, and is the evident product of a mind which can use its Gnostic training for the highest religious ends and definitely Christian purposes.

See Holtzmann, "Die Gnosis," etc. ; "Einleit.," 457 ; Weizäcker, "Apos. Age," ii. 239.

Note LL, p. 214. The verses, John iii. 3, 4, appear in nearly the same form in the writings of Justin Martyr,¹ both these writers apparently drawing from some common ulterior source.² Interesting parallels, showing that these ideas were familiar in Alexandrine circles, have been cited from Wisdom of Solomon, ix. 17, 18, and from Philo. "Is it possible for one who pursues sensual objects to inherit incorporeal and divine things? . . . He alone deserves those rewards who is inspired from above."³ "The Words of God move upwards and downwards through the soul incessantly ; when they soar upward dragging it aloft, separating it from all that is mortal, and revealing to its sight those things alone worthy to be seen."⁴

¹ *Apol.*, i. 61.

² *Comp.* p. 80.

³ *Quis Rer. Her.*, 13, 38, ἀνωθεν.

⁴ *Som.*, i. 23.

Note MM, p. 225. The episode of the raising of Lazarus is the most signal instance of the independent sources from which our Gospel was drawn (unless, indeed, the narrative is accepted as purely imaginary). Not only is it peculiar to this Gospel, it is impossible to find a place for it in the others. Had a man been raised from the dead "fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem" immediately before the Passover, leading the authorities to "take counsel together for to put him to death,"¹ some allusion to the incident, or faint trace of it, at least, would necessarily be found in the closing chapters of Matthew, Mark, or Luke. This has very naturally led many commentators to reject the incident wholly as history, and give it an allegorical interpretation based upon the Lazarus story in Luke.² According to their view, the return of Lazarus from the grave, which is prayed for in Luke, comes actually to pass in our Gospel. The mention of Caiaphas as high priest for that year³ is also noted as an unhistorical feature, pointing to an Ephesian origin for the tradition. The Jewish high priesthood never changed yearly, as is here assumed; but that custom did prevail for the Roman high priests in Asia Minor.⁴ Notwithstanding these historical difficulties, however, the ingenuousness of the narrative

¹ John xi. 18, 53, 56.

² Luke vi. 20-31; also, x. 38-42.

³ John xi. 49.

⁴ Pfleiderer, *Urchrist.*, 721, 722; also, Baur, *Evang.*, 192, etc.; Mommsen, *Provinces of Roman Empire*, i. 374.

and its realistic touches seem to me to stamp it as quite as genuine as any of the New Testament miracles. It must take its place with the rest, as the mythical reflection of some actual incident preserved in Alexandrian or Ephesian tradition and made the vehicle for the author's central theme.

Note NN, p. 233. John xiv. 16, 26. The Holy Ghost as member of the Christian Trinity, as indeed the philosophical formula of the Trinity itself, belongs to a still later date than the Fourth Gospel; but these passages show that the separate personifications which are by and by to produce that formula are already becoming familiar. In this distinction between the Son and the Holy Spirit, which he sends after his departure under the name of Paraclete, lies perhaps the first step towards the final distinction of the second and third persons of the Trinity. Tertullian seems to claim that he learned this doctrine from his Montanistic faith,¹ in which case it would follow that this important step in Christian theology was first taken by Montanism.

Schwegler, "Nachapos. Zeitalter," ii. 338, 369; Pfeleiderer, "Urchristenthum," 728, 766; O. Holtzmann, "Johannes Evangelium," 79.

Note OO, p. 236. *Docetism*. The writer of the Fourth Gospel does not tell us in what sense he

¹ *Prax.*, 2.

regards Jesus as a man. The phrase "the Word became flesh" does not mean necessarily "became man." It may mean simply that the Logos assumed temporarily a bodily form for the purposes of his earthly mission, to surrender it as soon as that mission was ended. There is nothing in the entire Gospel to suggest an actual blending of the divine and human natures. We might even suppose that this question had not yet suggested itself, and that the writer was quite unaware of any difficulties in the matter. No human birth is mentioned or assumed; and although the Logos takes human form, he continues to act as a celestial being throughout. He not only performs miracles and raises the dead to life, he is represented as knowing all things, as seeing into the hearts of men, and as foreseeing from the beginning all that was to occur.¹ In a word, the human is so completely subordinated to the divine that it can hardly be said to exist except in outward form.

This relation of the divine to the human was soon to become a burning question in the churches; and the commonest solution of the enigma was to consider the human body of Jesus a mere semblance of flesh and blood, like the angel-forms in the Old Testament.² This idea was strengthened by the prevailing philosophical notion of the inherent evil or sinfulness of the flesh; making it impossible to suppose a divine being taking upon himself

¹ John ii. 24, 25; iii. 11, 14; vi. 64; ii. 19, 22.

² Gen. xviii. 1, 2; xix. 1-3.

an actual body.¹ In due time this was pronounced a heresy ; and as every heresy must have a name, this was styled Docetism. The Docetæ (*Δοκηταί*) were those who regarded Christ's body as *apparent*, not real. How serious this struggle was, in other words, how near this doctrine came to being accepted as the true explanation of this great mystery, appears from the extraordinary pains taken by all writers of this period to refute it ;² none the less because they were so liable themselves to fall into the same error.³ Tertullian has this heresy constantly on his mind.⁴ Irenæus hardly less.⁵ Clemens Alexandrinus, while repudiating the name, advances views of his own hardly to be distinguished from Docetism.⁶ Origen was scarcely more successful in escaping the heresy.⁷

According to some accounts, the Docetæ constituted a distinct sect. Clem. Alexandrinus traces it to Julius Cassianus as the founder,⁸ while Irenæus seems to think it originated with Saturninus.⁹ Hippolytus, without naming any founder or source, at-

¹ Philo, *De Mund. Opif.*, 24 ; *Sac. Abel*, 28 ; *Fragmenta Ex.*, xxiv. 13, 17 ; *Opera*, vi. 245.

² Polycarp, vii. 1 ; Ignat. adv. Smyrn. 2, 3.

³ Barnabas, xii. 10, "manifested figuratively in the flesh."

⁴ *Car. Chris.*, I, 4, 9 ; *Prax.*, 27, 30 ; Marc. v. 14.

⁵ iii. 11, 3 ; iii. 16, 6 ; iii. 19, 3 ; v. 14, 3 ; v. 1, 2.

⁶ *Strom.*, iii. 13. Comp. vi. 9.

⁷ *Prin.*, ii. 6, 3 ; iv. 1, 31 ; *Cels.*, i. 32, 33 ; ii. 9, 23 ; iv. 15 ; vi. 77.

⁸ *Strom.*, iii. 13.

⁹ i. 24, 2. Comp. Hipp. vii. 28.

tributes to the Docetæ a profoundly metaphysical and abstruse system.¹ Whether a sect or not, however, its chief interest for us is simply as one of the most familiar phases under which the Gnostic thought of the day appeared.

It must be confessed that to the ordinary reader of the Fourth Gospel or of Paul's Epistles, Docetism offers the most obvious escape from the *impasse* in which these writings find themselves, by presenting a purely celestial being under the guise of humanity. Christian theologians of later days have invented various metaphysical deliverances from the dilemma; but the early Christians were not metaphysicians, and can hardly be blamed for understanding language in its plain meaning. One who could say that "God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh" has no reason to be surprised if his readers understood him as meaning "the semblance of sinful flesh;" that is, the appearance, not the reality.² The Docetæ might fairly be described as those who took the Epistles of Paul and the Fourth Gospel at their word.

Baur, "Christenthum," i. 205-213; Hilgenfeld, "Evang. und Briefe Johan.," 222-248; Weizsäcker, "Apos. Age," i. 143; ii. 238; Réville, "Orig. de l'Episcopat," i. 451.

Note PP, p. 237. *Date and Authorship of Fourth Gospel.* The origin of the Fourth Gospel

¹ Hipp. viii. 8, etc.; x. 16. Comp. Baur, *Christenthum*, i. 205-207.

² Rom. viii. 3; also, Phil. ii. 7, 8.

is as obscure as that of the other three. For years, as is well known, it was regarded as the work of the Apostle John; but the moment the question began to be critically studied, this tradition was found to be merely a second century conjecture, with little internal or external evidence to support it. That the Apostle John, as represented in the New Testament, calling down fire from heaven upon the Messiah's foes and asking for a place of authority in the Messiah's kingdom,¹ should in advancing years become a speculative theologian, versed in the Alexandrine philosophy, has always seemed so intrinsically improbable as to require strong historical proofs to support it, especially as the little that is known of his after career indicates that he continued violently hostile to the ideas represented by the Fourth Gospel. One early writer represents him as wearing the diadem of a high priest; another as rushing out of a bath-house without bathing because he found the heretic Cerinthus within.² Strangely enough, this same Cerinthus was supposed, in certain quarters, to have been the true author of both Gospel and Revelation; so little reason was there for John, if really the author of either, to have considered him a heretic.³ The reasons for believing that if John wrote the Revelation he could not have written the Fourth Gospel also were so clearly stated by

¹ Luke ix. 49-54; Mark x. 35-37.

² Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 31, 3; Iren. iii. 3, 4.

³ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, vii. 25, 2; Epiph., *Her.*, li. 3.

Dionysius 1600 years ago that they need hardly be urged afresh.¹

As it happens, the external evidence is as little favorable to the apostolic authorship of the book as the internal. If really written by John, the beloved disciple, we should naturally look for a frequent use of it by Christian writers from the earliest time, and expect to find it treated with the special reverence or confidence due to so high a source. So far is this from being the case, however, that the earlier writers known to us might have written exactly as they have, had this Gospel been wholly unknown to them, or its authorship at least unguessed. Neither Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, Ignatius, Barnabas, the author of the "Shepherd of Hermas," or of "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," once mentions the Fourth Gospel or its author, or once makes a clear citation from it. There are vague resemblances of word or phrase, it is true, but nothing that might not have been drawn from the prevailing thought or phraseology of the time, and no single quotation which claims the Apostle John as its authority.²

Turning to the writers of the middle of the century, Papias, as will be remembered,³ makes no reference to our Gospel, so far as his writings are known to us, though mentioning Mark and Mat-

¹ Euseb. vii. 25.

² For passages from these writers resembling the Fourth Gospel, see Holtzmann, *Einleit.*, 465, 466.

³ Pp. 8-17.

thew, and perhaps quoting from the First Epistle of John.¹ Marcion is equally silent; though the Fourth Gospel, had he known it and known it as the work of an Apostle, would have served his purposes far better, and given higher sanction to his doctrines, than the Gospel of Luke which he uses.² Still more significant is the silence of Justin Martyr.³ Here is a writer who has in his hands certain "Memoirs of the Apostles," which must have included whatever Gospel records were in common vogue at that time, and who cites from these freely, yet who never mentions the Fourth Gospel nor quotes from it, nor once appeals to the Apostle John as his authority. One or two passages suggest the Fourth Gospel dimly; but they are not given as quotations, and may equally well be taken from other sources, or may be original with Justin himself.⁴ The passage concerning regeneration, already quoted,⁵ certainly bears a strong resemblance to our Gospel,⁶ but on careful examination, as we have seen, the differences are quite as striking, supposing that Justin had the Gospel passage before him or in his mind. Commentators who compare these extracts confess themselves in doubt which writer is borrowing from the other, or whether both are not drawing from some older original. In any other case we should say at once that both writers probably have some familiar say-

¹ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 39, 17.

² Pp. 92-94.

³ Pp. 70-81.

⁴ *Apol.*, i. 5; *Trypho*, 88.

⁵ P. 80.

⁶ John iii. 3-5.

ing of Jesus in mind which was circulating in different forms, or to which each gives the shape best suited to his special purposes. That a writer like Justin, if able to fortify his teachings by the first-hand authority of an Apostle of the Lord, should hesitate for any reason to do so seems the least likely supposition of all. He repeatedly refers, as occasion demands, to the "Apostles of the Lord;" why should he forget in the present case to tell us that he is using the very language of the beloved disciple? If there is any instance in literature where an author's silence is conclusive, it is here. If it does not prove that the Fourth Gospel was still unwritten, it shows clearly that it was current at best as a private document in limited circles, and was either unknown to writers like Marcion and Justin, or thought not important enough to be quoted.

The Gnostic writers of the century, especially Basilides and Valentine, are often cited as using John's Gospel freely; but they lose all weight as witnesses, as the works of master and disciple are in each case avowedly mixed by the Fathers who quote them.¹

¹ See Hipp., *Philos.*, vii. 22, 27, where are citations from John i. 9; ii. 4, ascribed to Basilides; while vii. 20 shows that Basilides and Isidorus his scholar, with others of the sect, are quoted by Hippolytus indiscriminately. *Philos.*, vi. 35, compared with vi. 21, 29, 32, 34, show that the same is true of the references to Valentine. Comp. Scholten, *Die ältesten Zeugnisse*, 65-68; Martineau, *Seat of Authority*, 196, 197.

The first mention of our Gospel is found in the following passage from Irenæus, written not before the year 175.¹ "Afterwards (Matthew, Mark, and Luke having written their Gospels), John the disciple of the Lord, the same that had leaned upon his breast, himself published the Gospel while living at Ephesus in Asia."² Almost contemporaneously with this, Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, in a treatise written for a personal friend, quotes the verse, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God,"³ as written by "John;" and although he does not say what John, and there were other ancient authorities of the same name, we have little reason to doubt that he means here John the Apostle.⁴ About the same time, or somewhat later, the ancient canon of Scripture, called the Muratori Fragment,⁵ describes the Fourth Gospel as "that of John, one of the disciples." John is described as repeating the entire narrative to the "disciples and bishops," who had entreated him for his personal recollections.⁶ Tatian may also be mentioned here,⁷ who attempted to bring the various fugitive Gospels into a single narrative, and seems to have

¹ Harnack, after a very exhaustive examination, fixes the date at 181-189. *Chron.*, i, 320.

² *Hær.*, iii. 1, 197.

³ John i. 1.

⁴ *Autolycus*, ii. 22.

⁵ Various dates assigned, from 170 to 210.

⁶ Canon Muratori, i.

⁷ Probably between 160 and 180; Harnack, *Chron.*, i. 289.

included the Fourth Gospel among his authorities.¹

The most important of these witnesses is, of course, Irenæus ; and as he more than once speaks of the Apostle John as author of our Gospel, without intimating any doubts in the matter, this would show that by 175 A. D. the Gospel had been known long enough, in that circle of churches, at least, for its authorship to have passed beyond the stage of controversy. It has been urged, also, that Irenæus's personal acquaintance with Polycarp, who had himself been instructed by John and other disciples of the Lord,² makes his testimony almost decisive in the matter, as if coming to us from the very inner circle of the Apostles. When we consider, however, that his intercourse with Polycarp was that of a young boy with an aged man, and that he has trusted wholly to his memory for his reminiscences,³ and, moreover, that Irenæus nowhere intimates that his ideas about the Fourth Gospel come from Polycarp, but suggests a very different source,⁴ we see plainly how much weight is to be ascribed to this testimony. It is from precisely the same source, we must remember, that Irenæus reports the strange saying of Jesus previously quoted,⁵ together with another still more startling fact that Jesus lived to be more than forty years of age, and indeed quite into old age.⁶ When we

¹ See p. 102.

² Iren. iii. 3, 4 ; Euseb. v. 20, 5-7.

³ Euseb. v. 20, 7.

⁴ iii. 11, 8.

⁵ P. 121.

⁶ ii. 22, 5.

think for a moment of the effect upon Christian chronology or upon the narratives of Acts of supposing Jesus to have survived beyond the middle of the century, we can estimate the exact value to be attached to Irenæus's reminiscence of Polycarp and his companions. All we can fairly say is that at that date (175) our Gospel was ascribed to John, and must have been written long enough to have made this belief seem credible.¹

It should be said that the account given in this volume of the character and origin of our Gospel would accord quite as well with the earlier years of the second century, when Gnostic ideas were still fresh and undefined, as with any later period ; if only there were any signs of its being in vogue at that time. The result of such investigations as the above seems to me to be, not necessarily to fix a very late date for the Gospel, but rather to show the futility of trying to fix any year or decade for writings of this kind. Modern critics, while on the whole inclining to place the Gospel early in the century, yet vary very largely in the dates which they assign. Weizsäcker, while pronouncing it impossible for any Apostle to have written the Gospel, substituting for the living Jesus he had known

¹ In Asia Minor the point seems to have been still a mooted one, as one body of Christians, the Alogi, believed the Gospel to have been written by Cerinthus, an early Gnostic. Epiph. li. 3. The opinions which prevailed on this point in the fourth century can be inferred from Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 23, 24.

the incarnate Logos, yet thinks it written soon after John's death, by some disciple of John, eager to vindicate that Apostle's authority.¹ Pfeiderer holds that it was written between the time of Bar-Cochba² and that of Justin.³ Hilgenfeld thinks the author stood midway between Valentine and Marcion, receiving his doctrine of the Paraclete from the agitation which was soon to produce Montanism, *i. e.*, about 150.⁴ O. Holtzmann puts the date at 100-135.⁵ Schwegler, 125-150.⁶ Jülicher places it before Justin, 100-125.⁷ Weiss thinks the writer a contemporary of Clemens Romanus, 90-100.⁸

The most elaborate attempt among recent critics to fix the exact date of our Gospel is by Harnack, who believes the author to have been not the Apostle, but the Presbyter John mentioned by Papias, who became early confused with the Apostle.⁹ From the fact that Papias makes use of *1 John*, which Harnack regards as virtually a companion-piece of the Fourth Gospel,¹⁰ and that Irenæus gives a quotation from the Gospel as if coming from "the Presbyters,"¹¹ he assigns both Gospel

¹ *Apos. Age*, ii. 206-214.

² John v. 43; xi. 48.

³ *Apol.*, i. 61. A. D. 135-150. *Urchrist.*, 777.

⁴ *Evang. und Briefe Johan.*, 321.

⁵ *Johan. Evang.*, 75, 79.

⁶ *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, ii. 345.

⁷ *Einleit.*, 247, 250.

⁸ *Lehrbuch*, etc., 29, 587.

⁹ Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 39, 4-7.

¹⁰ Euseb. iii. 39, 17.

¹¹ Iren. v. 36, 2.

and Epistles to the time of the "Presbyters," *i. e.*, 110-117.¹ This involves many assumptions: as that Papias actually cites *1 John* by name, which Eusebius does not assert, and that Irenæus is always citing Papias when he seems to be giving his own reminiscences from the Presbyters. But even if we allow that *John xiv. 2* was actually cited as a saying of the Lord, in the year 110,² it is hardly necessary to call an entire Gospel into being to account for this single verse. That many of these "Sayings" of the Lord must have circulated long before they were collected into books is too obvious to be insisted upon.

To assume, when a single verse or single idea is found corresponding with some passage in one or the other of our four Gospels, that it could have come only from those Gospels seems to me a singular reflection upon the mental capacity of the early Christians. Why should not men have had their own ideas on religious matters then as well as now? If certain notions as to the nature of Christ or the character of his mission were afloat, why should we not look for traces of them in various quarters, and thought out on different lines? Take, for instance, the question of the Logos, any mention of which in the second century is commonly supposed to prove an acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel. Putting that Gospel from our thoughts, and looking over the writings of the second century, we find many minds at work upon this philo-

¹ *Chron.*, i. 333 n.; 655-680.

² *Iren.* v. 36, 2.

sophic theme in many individual ways. It is not unknown to Christian thinkers of the first century.¹ Traces of it, in inchoate form, are found in Clemens Romanus.² The unknown author of the Epistle of Barnabas, though not familiar with the term "Logos," is yet full of the cognate Gnostic ideas,³ and sees in Jesus the celestial Son of God, who visits the earth with the preordained purpose to suffer and die, and who must not be ranked as son of David or son of man.⁴ Curious traces of the peculiar phraseology which this theme called into being appear in so dry and circumstantial a treatise as the "Teaching of the Twelve."⁵ The "Shepherd of Hermas" touches the doctrine in a highly mystic and sentimental vein; declaring that "The Son of God is older than any of his creatures; so that he was the counselor of the Father in his creation."⁶ Justin Martyr conceives of the theme in very much the same manner as the Fourth Gospel, yet with marked differences of terminology and thought. He dwells more on the humanity of the Christ;⁷ and instead of assigning the Logos abso-

¹ Heb. i. 1-8; iv. 12, 13; Rev. xix. 13.

² xxvii. 4.

³ i. 5; vi. 9; x. 12.

⁴ v. 5, 9, 10; vi. 7; xii. 10. See Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 192.

⁵ ix., x. Harnack finds in these chapters no less than twelve reminiscences of the language of the Fourth Gospel. *Texte*, etc., ii. 79.

⁶ Sim. ix. 12, 2; ix. 14, 5; ix. 14, 6.

⁷ *Trypho*, 100; *Apol.*, i. 35.

lute preëminence, introduces it as only one of several designations of the Son of God, and couples with the Son many "other good angels."¹ Athénagoras, writing some time after our Gospel was in circulation (176-180), yet quite unconscious of its existence, deals with the same thought on an even more transcendental plane; conceiving the divine Logos hardly as a person, rather as an "energizing power in all things," or as simply God's thought in calling matter into life.² Tatian, Justin's scholar, finds the Logos the best term for that "light of God," or "spiritual emanation from the Father," of which he speaks to the Greeks;³ and is at pains to show that though issuing from God at God's simple will, the Logos yet remains part of God; that it existed beforehand as Logos-power in Deity, and went forth not by "separation," but by "distribution."⁴ Tatian introduces two or three "Sayings" of Jesus similar to those in the Fourth Gospel, yet nowhere mentions that Gospel, or the Apostle John, and shows no consciousness that a high apostolic authority has been following the same thoughts.⁵ Clem. Alexandrinus, still later, is familiar enough with our Gospel, citing it freely, and mentioning once or twice John the Apostle;⁶ but goes his own way, and thinks his own thoughts of the Logos and Gnosis.

¹ *Apol.*, i. 6, 63; *Trypho*, 61, 128.

² *Supplic.*, 4, 10, 24.

³ *Orat. ad Græc.*, 7, 13.

⁴ 5, 7.

⁵ 4, 13, 19.

⁶ *Strom.*, v. 12; vi. 15; *De Div. Serv.*, 8.

Are all these utterances, as we are told, echoes of one single writing, which must be held sacred at any cost, though at the expense of all the thinking of a century; or are they, as they seem, the spontaneous efforts of many thoughtful souls to grasp one of the loftiest ideals which had yet presented itself to the Christian mind? In the one case, the second century is shown to be alive to the new thought of the hour and receptive of its best truths; in the other, it is more barren of intellectual and spiritual activity than the twelfth century, or the much maligned eighteenth.

In any case, we may well ask what dignity a Scripture writing gains by having an early date assigned to it, if at the same time it remained for two or three generations unknown or unprized? In what sense is a book extant before it is read? If the Fourth Gospel existed at all before the middle of the second century, it could only have been as Shakespeare or Goethe exists to-day for the Khalifa of the Soudan; or as Wheaton and Phillimore exist for the Congress of the United States.

For a complete *résumé* of the course of criticism on the Fourth Gospel from the beginning, see Holtzmann, "Einleitung ins N. Test.," 427-475. Holtzmann himself claims that the Gospel mirrors on its pages the entire century between John the Baptist and the writer, *i. e.*, A. D. 30-130.¹ See, also, Baur, "Kanon. Evangelien," 77-389; Hilgenfeld,

¹ *Einleit. ins N. Test.*, 451.

"Evang. und Briefe Johannes;" also, "Die Gnosis und das Johan. Evang.;" O. Holtzmann, "Johan. Evangelium;" Weizsäcker, "Apos. Age," ii. 206-226; Pfeiderer, "Urchristenthum," 695-786; Jülicher, "Einleitung ins N. Test.," 238-250; Harnack, "Chron.," i. 656-680; Renan, "Life of Jesus," Boston, 1896, pp. 423-478; "Authorship of Fourth Gospel," Ezra Abbot, Boston, 1880; "Institute Essays," Boston, 1880 (F. Tiffany on Gospel of John); J. J. Taylor's "Fourth Gospel," London, 1867; Martineau's "Authority in Religion," pp. 189-236; Sanday's "Authorship and Hist. Character of Fourth Gospel," 1872.

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